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IN place of the conventional prayers at the opening of the Arms Conference the American delegation will be able to introduce a little novelty. It can call the representatives of the rest of the world together, bow its head, and announce through its beard that the United States as a first step toward the solution of the Far Eastern question has put the screws on China, and that it only awaits final instructions from the banks before deciding just exactly what it will do to make China pay up. Then when the subdued murmur of applause has ceased a further announcement can be made: "Turning from the question of the Far East to another point on our agenda, gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to announce the perfecting by our Army and Navy Air Services of a new and interesting invention. In accordance with our traditional policy of 'new agencies of warfare openly exploded' I hasten to inform our sister nations that this new invention is intended, our military experts assure us, for offensive action only, 'against enemy coasts, cities, or fleets.' It is a simple little contrivance, a flying bomb or torpedo, controlled from a distance by radio. It is completely filled with incendiary explosives and poison gases. I need not go into greater detail to convince you of the intense delight this invention has aroused on all sides. I simply wished to give you an opportunity to rejoice with us. We will now proceed to the regular business of this Conference: the limitation of naval armaments, the control of new agencies of warfare, questions of the Pacific and the Far East."

NOW is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the country. When President Harding first issued a call for a conference on limitation of armaments heedless folk connected the idea with Senator Borah's proposal of a conference to discuss disarmament. Secretary Hughes warned that the Administration had no thought of disarming, but the reckless agitators continued. They held peace meetings and peace parades, got out peace leaflets, and even advocated complete disarmament. In a few cities they were put in their place—in New York City the Central Trades and Labor Council sagely barred pacifists from its peace meeting. The New York *Herald* now proclaims with the authentic accent of official inspiration "Pacifists Warned to Stop Agitation; Administration's Patience at End With Those Who Cry 'Disarm.'" "Those who have been calling for complete disarmament—and the numbers are not small," comments the discriminating *Herald*, "seem to have missed the point. The fear rests with the officials that unless they are called off their propaganda may win for them a still greater following. Sentiment might grow to such an extent that a policy of complete disarmament might actually be developed." "Called off" indeed! We do things differently in America. We suggest that the Administration force through Congress three emergency laws: punishing with not less than six years' imprisonment any citizen attempting to advise the Government; assimilating advocacy of disarmament to treason; and instructing the Postmaster General to bar from the mails any publication using the phrase "disarmament" other than opprobriously. Then perhaps the peace conference—or whatever it is—could go on peacefully to arrange rules for the use of poison gas—or whatever it is that it intends doing.

DELHI, India, Nov. 4 (Associated Press).—The All-India Congress Committee, consisting of 200 delegates today adopted a resolution, with only seven dissenting votes, adhering to the policy of "civil disobedience," including non-payment of taxes and complete non-cooperation. Mahatma K. Gandhi . . . emphasized the seriousness of the proposed non-violent revolution and uttered a warning against adopting the measure in light-hearted manner. . . . It had been supposed the congress might resort to more violent methods. . . . Several of the speakers advocated a more advanced program.

THIS inconspicuous dispatch bears news which may prove to be more momentous for the future of the world than any congress of the Western nations. At least it concerns the future not only of British rule in India but white dominance of Asia. At best, if Gandhi succeeds in spite of all obstacles and in the face of the growing desire of many Indians to use violence, it will mean that mankind has at last found a way to resist oppression without resorting to war. The peace of the world and consequently the life of the world depend upon the perfection of some method of non-violent resistance to imperialism.

NOT the diplomats gathering in Washington, perhaps not even the Anglo-Irish conferees in London, have it in their power so surely to choose between war and peace as Sir James Craig and his band of fanatical Orangemen in Belfast. It now appears that the Irish delegates will recommend to their people acceptance of a Dominion Home Rule status if by this act they can secure Irish unity. They

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have said they would not violently coerce the little area about Belfast and they have offered it the largest measure of autonomy, but they rightly demand the end of the Orange menace to the rest of Ireland. The British at last seem ready to change their Ulster policy which has wrought ruin ever since the days of James I; but the Orangemen are obdurate. Two of their six counties are Sinn Fein; they will not even let them go. But neither will they submit to a plebiscite in the whole of historic Ulster for they fear that their decreasing majority in four counties will be outvoted by Sinn Fein majorities in the other five, three of which were excluded from the Ulster governmental area in Mr. George's partition of Ireland. The reason? There is none which has moral or intellectual validity. Orangeism is a survival from the sixteenth century, heretofore kept alive by British political intrigue. It is a pathological state of mind in otherwise healthy individuals which persuades them that they are the chosen people called of God to preserve their arrogant position though it costs the peace of Ireland or of the world.

BUT Orange obduracy could work no such incalculable harm were it not for the essential unsoundness of Lloyd George's position. There can be no doubt that he desires peace and that he has a vigorous grasp of the realities of Sinn Fein power in Ireland. Nor can there be doubt that he has a right to try to persuade Ireland by every means at his command to stay within the Empire. What is ethically indefensible is the assumption, apparent throughout his otherwise masterly address in the House of Commons, that the needs of the British Empire, real or imaginary, are superior to the clearly expressed will of the Irish people, and that refusal of British terms can justify a war which must be virtually a war of extermination. It is this unjustifiable assumption which is responsible for the crimes of British policy toward Ireland since the days of Henry II. It is responsible for perpetuating that religious bigotry in Ulster which bids fair to prove a Frankenstein's monster to its former masters. This imperialist fallacy is not peculiarly British. It is the typical reasoning of the imperialist mind equally evident in the Japanese conquest of Korea and the American conquest of Haiti.

RUSSIA—then Turkey. Some strange fatality seems certain to follow in the wake of alien military intervention. All the power of all the Allies, with the Germans as associates and all the world's finance and guns and greatcoats and automobiles, did not avail against the coatless, hungry Red Guard afoot. One by one, and still protesting, the mighty Allies made peace. So now in Turkey. There was a peace signed at Sèvres—one of the series begun at Versailles. The Turkish nation rejected it. The British seized Constantinople; the French occupied Cilicia; the Greeks—urged on by the British—staged drive after drive upon the Turkish capital, Angora. Yet the Turks win. The French have evacuated Cilicia and accepted a new boundary line south even of that set in the Treaty of Sèvres. The Italians are negotiating their second treaty with Turkey. The Greeks are begging the Great Powers to "mediate." Britain is finding Constantinople riddled with plots against her rule. There is a lesson to the tale. New and old forces are astir in the world that make military intervention vain, but a more subtle and more dangerous kind of intervention—economic and financial—rules on the ruins of the old.

ALL the suffering of the milk strike in New York City was the result of a controversy between the distributing companies and their employees in which both sides forfeited general sympathy. If the employees had a good case they failed to present it effectively, and their ruthless and organized violence outraged the public. But if the men were bad, the companies were worse. They first rejected the strikers' offer, apparently made in good faith, to provide men to feed the horses and to supply hospitals and milk stations, and they deliberately prolonged the strike by refusing the Health Commissioner's proposal to arbitrate, though that proposal was unanimously accepted by the men. The companies loved the open shop more than babies. The public itself is to blame for leaving an essential service to the mercy of the struggle between private profit-seeking companies and their employees. A city needs milk almost as much as water and it must either control milk distribution, with employee representation in management, or else the consumers themselves must gain control through cooperation. Minneapolis furnishes a significant example of the success of the latter method. There a consumers' cooperative has given admirable service, prevented profiteering, and avoided labor disputes. The interesting part of the story is that the cooperative was organized by employees of the milk companies after a strike and lock-out.

THERE is a curious doctrine, diligently preached not only by the New York milk companies but by other employers, that the "open shop"—that is the shop closed to unions—is a cure-all for strikes. Nothing is more erroneous. Nowhere are strikes and sabotage more serious than in Japan where unions are legally forbidden. On the other hand, an article in the *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that labor representation in the management of German factories lessened discontent there—referring to the workers' councils which are predicated on the existence of labor unions. Mr. Seebohm Rowntree of England assured the employers and managers gathered in the annual convention of the Industrial Relations Association of America that employers must learn to cooperate with their men, and that successful cooperation meant dealing with the men's own organizations. This confession of faith was not academic but born out of years of experience as an employer of 7,000 workingmen. Mr. Rowntree's peroration to a brilliant address before the Academy of Political Science in New York City might well be pondered by the milk distributors and others. "The days when we could drive our workers, thank God, are gone," he said. "We've got to lead. And the only men competent to lead are those who love the men they lead."

IN a recent news letter sent out by a private service to its clientele of lawyers, bankers, and business men occur these statements in successive paragraphs:

> The Administration has now established its prestige in both the Federal Reserve Board and in the Interstate Commerce Commission. . . . It is in a position, therefore, to determine the rate on (1) money, (2) railroads, and (3) ships. This gives a more or less complete control over certain primary costs of doing business. . . . There is a man in the White House who can be depended upon to hold tightly to conservatism all along the line, particularly preventing further "governmental interference and devastating regulation."

One might suspect that a government in control of money, ships, and railroads could hardly go much farther in governmental interference, but such is not the thought of the

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writer; he is neither ironical nor consciously inconsistent. What he means, as is evident from his discussion of the Administration's plans to sabotage the Federal Trade Commission which fear of the farmers makes it reluctant to kill, is simply this: "devastating regulation" is regulation out of harmony with big business as the Trade Commission was, to put it mildly, out of harmony with the packers. The most enormous powers over the primary costs of doing business are not devastating if the masters of credit approve. This, then, is what a business Administration means. Perhaps it is this that the American people want, but it is a strange way of fulfilling Mr. Harding's pledge "to take the Government out of business." It illustrates, we believe, not the conscious repudiation of that pledge, but the steady and almost inexorable drift of economic affairs away from individualistic competition toward state capitalism.

CRUELTY is the inevitable result of stupidity, and the cruelty which has largely manifested itself in the treatment of aliens at Ellis Island is probably neither deliberate nor wanton. It is the result of the hurried routine application of a complex and unreasonable law. But this fact is doubtless of small comfort to the immigrants who are ill-treated and subjected to conditions of dirt and discomfort. Nor does it interest the British Government which has properly protested to the State Department against the way British subjects have been handled. The State Department, in merely pleading the difficulty of administering the law, has failed to satisfy the British authorities. They are quite indifferent—as are the immigrants themselves—to the troubles of United States immigration officials. They are interested only in obtaining decent treatment for their nationals, and expect to press their demands further. There are individuals, however, in the population of the island who have no such powerful protection. These are the radicals who await deportation for their sins. No government concerns itself about their welfare, and they appear to be receiving the treatment one would consequently expect. One boy has been refused permission to visit his sick mother in New York, although he is being permanently taken from her. Another may not see his sister, who is also ill. Such unnecessary hardships will serve to make the United States seem less than ever the land of promise and freedom it once was universally considered.

UNDER threat of court action the New York Board of Aldermen has finally seated the duly elected Socialist candidates, Messrs. Lee and Cassidy, two years after their election and two months before their term expires. But the whole affair has some compensation in that it has drawn from *America*, our most influential Catholic publication, a vigorous, whole-souled, and uncompromising denunciation of the treatment of Socialist legislators at Albany and aldermen at New York. "Free speech," says *America*, "has its danger, but its alternative is fraud, plunder, and oppression. . . . It is imperative under our form of government that no man be debarred from office on the sole ground that he is a Democrat, Republican, or a Socialist. . . . The best way of bringing about an explosion, which not even the Socialists will find pleasant, is to continue the present process of attempting to defraud the Socialists of their legal rights." We wish that the Catholic leaders in the attempt to deny Socialists their legal rights might frame these words and hang them on their office walls.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY has rendered a service of more than local importance by opening in New York City the so-called "dollar clinic." It is estimated that in the city are some 2,000,000 people not rich enough to pay for proper medical attention, and not poor enough to require free treatment, or docile enough to accept the conditions that too often accompany charity service. It is for such people that Cornell is making available the services of the most competent physicians at moderate price. The opening days have shown how great is the appreciation of the innovation. Obviously the extension of the plan will be of use in that fight against cancer which has recently been so impressively brought to public attention. There are few finer things in modern life than the courage, wisdom, and unselfishness which men and women have displayed in the war against disease, and particularly against the great plagues which have devastated the race. The science which has conquered yellow fever and checked tuberculosis will not be denied further victories.

THE NATION feels a deep sense of personal loss in the death of Natalie Curtis Burlin, but its own feeling is quite overshadowed by the blow it constitutes to two of our subject peoples, the Negroes and the Indians. Herself an accomplished musician, she had devoted herself for years to the recording and preserving of Indian and Negro melodies. Her "Songs of Ancient America," published in 1895, was followed by "The Indian's Book," both devoted to the music of the original owners of America. Then she turned her attention to the colored people, publishing in 1918 her "Negro Folk Songs," and in 1920 her monumental work, "Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent." To all of this she brought taste and enthusiasm as well as musical skill, and a profound sympathy for the men and women of color on whose behalf no research was too trying or too laborious. What she did to preserve the plantation melodies alone entitles her to a high place in the regard of all who value the only really original music which modern America has produced. That so young and so useful a life should have been ended and so rare a personality extinguished by an automobile accident adds much to the pain. There is no one to fill her place, or to carry on her important musical and scientific studies.

NOTHING in history repeats itself with more frequency or with less variation than the fact that men who ought to know better show that history has taught them nothing. Just now the Nobel Prize committee has published its decision that Anatole France is automatically excluded from the award by his communism, D'Annunzio and Gorki by their concern with politics, Wells and Shaw by their "fickle inspirations"—however great, it is by implication admitted, the intrinsic claim of any of these men may be. When will the responsible learn not to be so irresponsible? Whitman for his sins of innovation could not be elected to the Hall of Fame; Balzac and Molière were passed over by the French Academy; Spinoza was excommunicated by the rabbis of his day; Abelard had to endure the persecution of Bernard of Clairvaux. Had there been a Nobel Prize in the thirteenth century would it have gone to Dante or been withheld because he was a weary exile? In Athens would Socrates have been left off the list because of his "impiety"? And Homer himself—could he have been nominated as he went about, if he ever did go about, among the cities and islands of Greece, with his blind eyes, and his "brow like a cloud," nomadically singing the glories of his race?

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The Duty of Civil Disobedience

WHEN an injunction issued in the public interest immediately results in spontaneous strikes where there was industrial peace, in restricting the production of coal at the approach of winter, and in threats by conservative labor leaders that they will choose jail rather than obedience, the plain citizen is warranted in suspecting bad laws and in being sure of a bad social philosophy. Judge Anderson's injunction against the United Mine Workers had all of these immediate consequences. The language of the judge was astonishingly confusing but the essential features of his decision were clear enough. The United Mine Workers have been trying to organize the West Virginia coal fields. This they have done not merely out of regard for their fellow-workers who now lack the benefits of organization, but also to protect themselves against the competition of coal fields whose lower labor standards tend to drag down wages and general conditions through the whole of the so-called "Central Field." This attempt at organization constitutes, in Judge Anderson's opinion, conspiracy between the union and the operators who have agreements with it to destroy competition, and as such a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Hence he forbade the miners to spend more money in organizing the territory and forbade the operators to continue the check-off system, under which they deduct union fees from wages and turn them over to the union treasury, so long as such dues were used in the West Virginia field. This prohibition of the check-off has been suspended by the higher court, pending appeal. If the injunction is then sustained it will end agreements in the coal fields which were reached at the request of former Presidents of the United States. It will serve as an invitation to anti-union employers in every industry to ask injunctions against national unions which seek to organize their men, on the ground that free competition is destroyed thereby. But the very life of unions depends on such activities, and if the state can forbid them the workers are back in the helpless position of the early days of the industrial revolution.

And Judge Anderson's injunction is neither solitary nor unique. It merely illustrates the extreme lengths to which the coercive power of the state has gone. It can roughly be paralleled by judicial decisions and executive acts denying to workers the right to strike or to picket, as well as the ancient rights of free speech and assemblage. In support of the Railway Labor Board and to prevent a strike the Harding Administration was preparing to avail itself of every technicality, including war laws never intended for any such purpose, against the Brotherhoods. Attorney General Palmer used similar tactics in the coal strike of 1919. We have gone a very long way since Lincoln said: "I thank God we have a system of labor where there can be a strike and whatever the pressure there is a point where the workmen may stop."

Let no one take these words of ours as a light-hearted vindication of a right whose exercise involves the possibility of human suffering. It is a mark of the essential stupidity of our present system that strikes should ever be necessary; yet until we have learned to guide our tremendously complex and interdependent industrial system by principles of cooperation instead of subjecting it to the law of the jungle, the strike, and still more the labor organization whose weapon it is, affords the only defense for the workers against a despotic owning class which is becoming more and more closely identified with the Government. The function of the state as primarily to protect special privilege and private property has become so obvious as scarcely to require argument. When the Railway Labor Board, an agent of the state, was defied by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Government showed no alarm. It was only when the workers threatened a strike that every department sprang to instant activity. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act long ago lost its terror for capital. It is today invoked to keep labor from effective organization.

This increasing regimentation of workers into an industrial army as part of a servile state is of course a natural complement to military conscription. When the state, organized primarily to protect property, claims the right to conscript men to kill or be killed in wars stirred up not by the natural antipathies of human beings but by the rivalries of predatory governments, it has already made itself a Moloch more terrible than any of the gods of antiquity. The Pope has referred to conscription as a blood-tax. It is worse; it is the negation of personality at the point of moral choice in the most desperate issues of life and death. While this sort of conscription and the espionage laws which accompany it are accepted complacently in civilized nations, it is idle to believe that lesser freedoms, such as the right to a decisive voice as to conditions under which one shall work, can be secured. That the states which exercise such coercive powers over the individual are nominally democratic, proves nothing. There is no tyrant more irrational or cruel than the crowd, and the manipulation of the crowd by those who enjoy special privilege has become a science.

How we shall escape from this tyranny and obtain the cooperation necessitated in an age of machine-production, is the supreme problem of our generation. It cannot be solved by men who live in an irrational awe of that artificial entity they call government. America owes all the best in her life to men who recognized "a higher law than the Constitution" and a power above government. Not Roger Tawney and the justices who promulgated the Dred Scott decision, but the great-hearted men and women who ran the underground railroad for the escape of fugitive slaves deserve the lasting gratitude of their country. What men once endured to abolish chattel slavery some men in the ranks of labor must do to end industrial peonage. The pioneers of labor's emancipation may have to practice the high duty of civil disobedience though they share the fate of Gene Debs and with him have to test in their own person the truth of Thoreau's great words:

> Under a government which imprisons any unjustly the true place for a just man is also a prison. . . . It is there that the fugitive slaves, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them; on that separate but more free and honorable ground, where the state places those who are not with her but against her—the only house in a slave state in which a free man can abide with honor. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the state, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person.

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President Harding and Social Equality

FIND fault with the President after he has gone straight into Southern territory and come out plump for the Negro's political and economic rights, and the necessity of giving him an education equal to the white man's? To many that will seem like base ingratitude, for, as we said last week, his was in the main a brave and noble statement. Nothing compelled Mr. Harding to make it; no public emergency necessitated his taking up an issue which Mr. Wilson for eight years refused to face. There were personal reasons to keep him from it. Since the colored vote is now more than ever attached to the Republican Party, Mr. Harding could have had no other motive at this time than a sincere desire to aid ten millions of colored Americans who, disfranchised and in economic servitude, are constantly suffering the most galling discriminations by reason of the color of their skins. To millions of these Mr. Harding today appears a veritable Sir Galahad. By the "grapevine telegraph," whose amazing speed and thoroughness in disseminating news to our black plantation workers throughout the South filled Booker T. Washington with awe and amazement, it is unquestionably known in every Negro cabin today that there is a President in the White House who has pleaded the cause of the black man before the nation.

Why then cavil at any single phrase of the President? Why not overlook his one unfortunate utterance in order to bestow upon him unqualified praise? Because that one reference to social equality—"men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality"—fell like a lash upon every thoughtful Negro and offset much of the good Mr. Harding did. Even in far-off Buenos Aires it called forth protests; the national Argentine Socialist convention at once interpreted Mr. Harding as meaning that the condition of "the ten millions of Negro population in the great republic will be eternally one of inferiority and subordination," and emphatically protested against it. True, the phrase quoted sweetened the rest of the dose for the South and saved the President from endless coarse abuse and fanatical denunciation as a "nigger lover" and from the charge of "insulting the South." Yet it would have been far better had he never uttered it, for by it he played into the hands of all who justify any discrimination against the Negro.

At least he should have defined just what he meant by social equality. If he had in mind intermarriage only, he should, in justice to himself and to the Negro, have said so. Unfortunately the phrase covers a multitude of sins. It is the excuse for endless aggression and wrongdoing by the "superior race." In the final analysis in the South social equality invariably whittles down to the relations of black men with white women, and in order to prevent them multitudes of our white Americans in the South honestly think themselves justified in resorting to any measures down to torture and burning. So certain are they that this must not be tolerated that they seek to prevent any approach to it by even forbidding colored people the use of public libraries, to say nothing of public carriers. Hardly an hour goes by in the life of a black adult without there being driven in upon his consciousness a realization that in a republic which hypocritically boasts of the freedom of all its citizens and their equality of opportunity he bears upon his brow the badge of shame and of deliberately classified inferiority.

So President Harding ought to have informed us whether he meant by his words on social equality to approve of the Jim Crow car, the denial of all cultural opportunities in theaters, in concert and lecture halls to colored people, and the unending discrimination against them in restaurants and hotels and in practically every walk of life. He has not even stated that he is opposed to that precious bit of Wilson wrongdoing, the segregation of the Negro in the departments at Washington. Until Mr. Harding does speak out on these questions, which mean more to the Negro than anything else, which daily bend his back, scarify his soul, and make every educated Negro mother look upon her children and ask whether she can justify to them their being called into existence, he cannot have thought through the problem nor can he render the full service which we believe he desires to render, which we honor him for seeking to render.

Without in the least urging intermarriage we must protest against the President's propaganda of "fundamental, eternal, and inescapable race differences." We have no quarrel whatever with those of either race who urge what they call racial purity. But the true method of control in this matter is by a sound social public opinion and not by laws, nor by the branding iron, nor that slow fire which in the Middle Ages was relied upon to prevent the spread of Protestantism. These measures are as ineffective as they are cruel and debasing.

The laws against intermarriage in the South are the most effective promoters of immorality and of concubinage and they place the black woman at the mercy of the white man without redress. As a matter of fact, statistics prove that where marriage is permitted the amount of it is negligible. We may rest assured that if racial intermarriage is socially unwise and racially destructive, nature herself will take a hand and control it without men's having to resort to crime to check it. But in the last analysis anyone who believes in individual freedom and liberty must believe in the right of every sound individual to seek his mate where he will and if necessary to pay the price for his deed in social ostracism to which there is no need of adding legal penalties. Once more we repeat that if racial admixture is not prevented by the instinctive disinclination of the races, it will not effectually be prevented by denying to one of them the ordinary courtesies which individuals earn by their conduct or deserve by their essential humanity.

What Mr. Harding has yet to see is that if the Negro obtains the economic freedom, the political freedom, and the boon of education which he craves for him this whole question of race relationship will at once adjust itself on a far nobler and better basis; that as long as the question of social equality is made the excuse for abuse, ill treatment, and the denial of rights sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution it works infinite harm to the whites who thus make of their republic an hypocrisy and defile their own souls by sponsoring injustice and wrong. There is something sadly wrong with a racial integrity which must be preserved in that manner. Moreover, if there are "fundamental, eternal, and inescapable race differences" they will take care of the situation themselves. But whether they do or not, no President is true to America who does not insist that every American citizen shall have the freest social opportunity without barriers of class or race or color, and political freedom as well.

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What France Needs

"SINCE January 1, 1920, the French public debt has increased 11,867,000,000 francs," a newspaper dispatch said the other day. A few days later we read of plans to reduce the deficit in the Government's budget for the coming year from 2,600,000,000 francs to 1,200,000,000. What is the matter with France that she keeps sinking billions deeper into debt? Close study of the situation suggests that the main problem is one of morale. A ten-fold increase in debt need not bankrupt a business, much less a government possessing the resources of intelligence in the French nation. If a collapse occurs in France it will be due rather to want of competence and integrity in the Government than to the cost of war and reconstruction.

While the French Government and press have been directing attention to German faithlessness and to the Silesian squabble, budgets have been patched together in such haphazard fashion in the multitudinous little *cabinets* of the Paris ministries that nearly 100 billion francs of post-war deficits have resulted. "These expenditures," we are told, "are sums spent on reconstruction; France is compelled to restore the destruction wrought by her enemy." Yet, an examination of these peace-time budgets shows that only 53 per cent of the vast borrowed sums was spent on reconstruction, and 47 per cent, or nearly half, was poured into military ventures, war-created government bodies which should have been demobilized when peace came, or into subsidies to cover losses on mismanaged state enterprises. Reconstruction expenditures were reduced in this year's budget. But increased expenditures for other purposes were allowed until the total expenditure for this year bids fair even to exceed that of last year! Reconstruction payments were checked; but politics ran riot.

The want of morale is indicated by the nature of the budget itself. It is divided into the "ordinary" and "extraordinary" budgets—a species of casuistry in bookkeeping without parallel in modern public accounting. "Ordinary" expenses, we are told, are the billions which France should legitimately be expected to spend. "Extraordinary" expenditures include the "annex" to the budget, made up chiefly of the deficit on the government railroads and the "recoverable" section, which goes to reconstruction, that Germany is supposed to repay, and the semi-secret "Special Treasury Services," spent on executive order for emergency movements of troops, etc. Finally there is the *bête noire* of French finance, the "supplementary credits," made necessary because French ministers will, in spite of the direst warnings from the tribune, spend more than the law allows. "Ordinary" expenses are maneuvered until they are approximately equal to tax receipts, and an official statement is cabled to America that "the budget is balanced."

The French budget is not voted until the fiscal year is more than half over. Meanwhile the Government resorts to the notorious "provisional twelfths"—generally a mathematical twelfth of the estimated expenditures of the previous year. Hence there is no reduction in the spending. These emergency credits, moreover, are planned so hastily by the Finance Ministry that the Chairman of the Finance Commission himself recently told Parliament that he was not able to make head or tail of them. The Ministry of Finance itself is scattered throughout the vast, shabby interior of the old Palais Royal. The innumerable officials and sub-officials, secretaries and sub-secretaries are secluded in little private *cabinets* which line the corridors two blocks or more in length. Uniformed functionaries run in and out of the little rooms and hasten down the corridors bearing formidable *dossiers* filled with that *paperasse*—red tape—which is the bane of French governmental offices.

Nor is the task of restoring the battlefields free of *paperasse*. While no parliamentary investigation has been begun and the actual workings of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions are shrouded in more or less obscurity, admissions have been made by public officials of the existence of scandalous waste and delays. Some very real results have been produced by the Ministry of Liberated Regions and the *sinistrés* themselves have displayed a magnificent spirit, but the management of the job has been political; charges of graft have been heard again and again, and the administrative expenses have been estimated at from 17 to 50 per cent, the former figure being given by the Ministry itself.

Here we come upon the head and front of France's financial situation today—political corruption. France is like other democracies in being cursed by inefficiency, and she was more cruelly shaken by the war than was any other nation; let us in charity make allowances. But let us not confuse the issue. France asks our assistance. Should we not be honest with her? For three years after the war's end she has been spending more than twice her income. Should we come to the rescue by putting more money in the hands of her politicians? The English and American democracies seem able to afford the luxury of political waste; but they cannot afford to finance or to guarantee the political extravagances of France as well. That, even apart from the question of French military adventure, must be the first answer to appeals for new loans, military alliances, or even mere refunding. France must clean up first.

Youth

AMONG the new voices in our literature there are but few that have the specific note of youth. The brave and original things have been done by minds that have matured toward critical perceptions and had time to brood upon their own past. It is not merely or indeed chiefly a question of years. Ardor, freshness, the soaring mood and the lyrical passion—these may proceed from the thirties as well as from the twenties. But our men of talent are terribly well weaponed. Their passion is always tempered by sagacity. Their verse depends upon a well-considered theory of poetics and their fiction upon a grimly ordered view of life. Nor do they hold these theories and views with the joy of discoverers and prophets but with the calm and silent tenacity of middle-age.

Exceptions, real or apparent, will occur to every observer. He will not deny our point that we have in America nothing comparable to the spirit of the youths who gathered, some years ago, about Jules Romains or those who are now gathering about Hermann Hesse or Franz Werfel. It may be a salutary thing that our literature, like that of England, does not take kindly to groups and movements, since these have, no doubt, an ugly habit of hardening into orthodoxies. Yet when one thinks of the early days of the symbolist movement and of the mystic and delightful evenings which young men passed in those days in the plain library of

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Mallarmé, one gains a deep sense of something precious that one missed and that others are now missing in the isolation that is so obvious a note of the intellectual life in America.

It is curious that precisely here where the group spirit is so strong, the life of the mind should be lived in an almost monastic fashion. It is a matter of common observation how in our great universities the fraternities and athletic organizations look upon withdrawal or isolation with an almost malevolent eye and how, on the other hand, those youths who live a deep inner life and nourish the passions of the soul shrink shyly from comradeship and communication and have to conquer a thousand inhibitions before they will reveal themselves. The result is that each faces himself and the pains of his development alone and in secret and may even come to regard his superiority as an eccentricity or a fault. No one can say how much tragic waste this process involves. It is clear that very sensitive minds can be easily hushed and driven into a constantly hardening outer conformity with the flat doings of the day.

We need, it would almost seem, some league of youth, some means of making the spirit of youth become at one with itself and articulate. Yet this means must not have any of the marks of an organization. There must be no machinery or chapters or dues or by-laws. The young men who created the modern literature and then the modern polity of Ireland seemed to have had none of these things. Yet when you speak to one of them you hear at once how they met and philosophized and plotted and were intimate with each other's minds and aims and drew from these contacts and from the very oppositions involved that high valor which has marked them in both literature and life. Other examples occur to one easily, even to the vain and harsh eccentricities of the dadaists. And all examples lead to the same conclusion that youth, to become articulate and effective, needs this cooperation of the spirit, these meetings in shabby rooms and taverns, this common ardor and comradely adventure and high debate.

We have not the tradition of such things and any group of young men and women in America will find it hard to avoid the contamination of the "social event" or of subservience to some practical and elderly minded leader. And they will be hampered, too, by the vast distances that will separate group from group and many groups will be smothered by the fact that they cannot meet except in a "parlor" or a class-room or an ice-cream shop. But these difficulties are small when we consider what depends on the event. It is nothing less than the future of the creative spirit, which is always the liberal or radical spirit from the point of view of its own day, in America.

Today all signs are favorable but our progress is still slow enough to wear out the most dauntless. For a country's culture cannot be reckoned only by the number of books that are written or pictures that are painted. The great question is rather how many creative and original lives are lived. And it is in this respect that we seem poor and feeble. Great audiences produce great artists even as great peoples produce freedom. Our hope is in youth, in the liberation of youth from the oppression of gross custom, from the tyranny of sport and shallow correctness. That liberation, like every liberation that counts, must come from within. But it can be aided and quickened and saved in a thousand cases by the expressed awareness, at least, that the liberal youth of the country is everywhere conscious of its own spirit toward the creative tasks that await it.

The New Metamorphosis

THE Ethiopian is by one authority reported to have difficulty in changing his complexion, and the leopard in losing his spots. Everywhere the march of science destroys pleasant myths about the transformation of this or that thing into that or this. Who now seriously believes that hares turn from one sex to another and back again, transmogrified with the seasons by some whimsy of their own or of nature's? Who now seriously believes that a hair from a horse's tail, if left lying long enough in water, will turn into an authentic worm? Yet science cannot do everything; her skeptic eye must leave some miracles their right to be called facts; with all her doubts she cannot deny that a new type of metamorphosis is among us: that which makes the same men one day bootleggers and the next day whiskey sleuths, as the shifting conditions of prosperity decide.

This is what we call beating the devil around the bush with a vengeance—only the problem is to tell which is the devil and which the beater and how long either will remain what he is. It is the ancient diversion of the Ins and Outs; the good old rule, the simple plan

> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

When the whiskey sleuths have the power they take the whiskey, and the bootleggers keep it as long as they can. But when the bootleggers have lost their whiskey, then they turn from being keepers to being takers, if they have the power; while the sleuths, having become conservative through the possession of desirable goods, keep them as long as possible, allowances being naturally made for consuming thirsts which will not be put off and which usefully hold the goods contended for to something like a constant quantity. This is the secret, one supposes, of the comedy. If there were too little liquor the contention would become too fierce for fun; if there were too much the contention would become too dull. As matters stand, they take the mind back to that neat method of international trade and economic adjustment which was long practiced along the English and Scottish Border. Neither Scot nor Englishman was allowed to grow too wealthy or too fat; hoarding was discouraged and free trade made automatic. Meanwhile, consider the entertainment everybody got!

We do not mean, of course, to hint that all whiskey sleuths and all bootleggers are capable of transmutation. Some of them are handicapped by being honest men, and some of them are unimaginative fellows without the skill to play both parts. But the metamorphosis does now and then take place, and a profession is growing up which embraces the two sides of the controversy. It seems a logical arrangement. As the taste for alleviating beverages gradually dies out of the world with disuse some class of persons or other will have to be preserved to tell which are intoxicating and which are not. Some will have to make the liquor to break the law and some will have to protect the law by finding the liquor and taking it away. Of course, the thing to do is to reduce the class of experts to the minimum and let them help and spell each other. In the long run we suppose the whole job can be handled by a committee of one man, who will run his still with one hand, arrest himself with the other, pay himself his fine, buy more corn with the fine money, and so on ad infinitum.

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Befogging the Transit Issue

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THE New York transit situation, for a time cast in a minor role, has again stepped forth boldly as a leading character on the municipal stage. Other cities can well pause in their own domestic dramas and see what is going on there. The metropolis carries as many car-riders per year as the next four largest cities in the country put together, and all the problems that have arisen in other places in miniature, or are likely to arise, are bound up in the present turmoil in Gotham.

The Transit Commission, whose creation aroused such a storm of protest in the early part of the year, has made its preliminary report recommending "municipal ownership" for New York and has submitted a plan to make such "ownership" effective. The unanimous applause which comes from the anti-municipal ownership press, from the reactionary *Times* to the libertarian *World*, puzzles the innocent and ill-informed car-rider. The plan looks pretty good to him. Its championship of public ownership is in accord with the opinion of the voters of New York, expressed at the polls in no uncertain terms. Its statements about the cancelation of the preferentials (that payment of dividends which goes to the companies out of the municipally owned subway before the city gets any returns), the readjustment of the companies' capitalization to the valuation of the property which the Commission is now making, and the consolidation of all the systems into one seem to forecast a reign of justice and efficiency such as no street railway system in the United States has yet seen.

But the trick in the sleight-of-hand performance which the car-rider suspects may be there after all. The history of the delusions which have beset the public in all American cities in its effort to find the end of the street railway rainbow—as set down by the railways themselves in the hearings before the Federal Electric Railways Commission—should make us intensely critical of any plan submitted. Particularly should this be the case when the arbitrary power vested in the Transit Commission is recalled. Probably no national war-time commission in this country has had such autocratic powers placed in its hands. It can compel the city to do anything it decides upon and make the city pay the bill besides. Even the Governor, who appoints the members of the Commission, cannot remove them. They can only be got rid of, no matter how contrary to public policy their acts may be, through a joint and concurrent resolution agreed to by two-thirds of the members of both houses of the legislature. That is the farthest point to which the use of the police power to override the cities in their dealings with the transit companies has yet been carried.

The proposed plan is seriously defective. One of its most important provisions is that in regard to the rate of fare. There are those who suppose that the Transit Commission would not dare to impose a higher rate of fare than that of five cents. This rate has become traditional in New York. It is more necessary from a social viewpoint in that city than in any other, because of the great amount of compulsory car-riding. A small place can get along without car service for months, as Albany did during the remarkable street car strike of this year. New York cannot do so because of its great distances. A high car fare means increased congestion of population, that the poor will be crowded still more into the tenement districts.

But the Transit Commission has provided for the destruction of the five-cent fare by the means which the companies are driving for all over the country: the so-called "service-at-cost" plan. Originally devised to bring fares down in the interest of the riding public, since 1918 it has been adopted by the railways as a way out of their troubles through automatically boosting fares. Its chief features are: the establishment of a fund which serves as a fare barometer. The surplus earnings are turned into this fund, after fixed charges and a specified rate of return to the investors are taken out. When there is no surplus, the fund is depleted to make up the dividend-loss. When the fund goes above a certain amount the fare falls. When it descends below a certain figure the fare rises.

The history of this plan shows that it invariably means a higher fare than five cents. Look over the roll of "service-at-cost" cities. First, there is Cleveland, where it originated in 1910. There it ended Tom Johnson's eight-year war for the three-cent fare. The original contract was put into effect under better conditions than have prevailed in any other city where it has been subsequently used. For one thing, a comparatively low valuation was agreed to. An unusual degree of public cooperation was also secured and has marked the working of the plan in Cleveland ever since.

Despite these favorable conditions, what is the situation? For a number of pre-war years a fare below five cents was maintained. Under the original contract the maximum fare (over which the charge could never go) was four cents cash, seven tickets for twenty-five cents, one cent transfer charge. But during the war it was necessary to amend the ordinance to allow a maximum fare of six cents cash, nine tickets for fifty cents, one cent transfer charge. On November 14, 1920, the Cleveland fare went up to that maximum. There it has remained to this day.

But the sad story endeth not there. The "interest" fund (called the "barometer fund" in the Transit Commission plan), originally established at $500,000, was entirely wiped out by February, 1921, and was replaced by a deficit of $53,425. This in a fund which should not fall below $300,000 without an increase in fare! It was expected that a 20 per cent reduction in wages, effective May 1 of this year, would readjust the fund. On the other hand, on July 1 a larger deficit, of $67,006, was reported. The company's maintenance, depreciation, and renewal reserve account showed a current over-expenditure of close to $500,000 up to that time. The company's operating deficit for June alone was $44,953. At the same time, according to the admission of Judge Fielder Sanders, city street railway commissioner, before the Federal Commission, the plan has deprived the city of much-needed extensions and has killed incentive in the company's management. And he thinks that municipal ownership with municipal operation is the only way in which that condition can be remedied.

Next there is Toledo, the last of the cities to adopt service-at-cost, as Cleveland was the first. The original fare in force (effective February, 1921) was six cents cash, five tickets for thirty cents, one cent transfer charge. Under this arrange-

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ment the company began immediately to show deficits. At the end of May, after four months' operation, a deficit of $260,672 had accrued. The deficit continued to accumulate, and on August 1 (the first day on which the fares could rise, under the ordinance) they went up to seven cents, one cent transfer charge, eight tickets for fifty cents. Only a few weeks after that, a readjustment higher had again to be made in the ticket rate. Now, Commissioner Cann declares that the extensions which were planned for this year and were a part of the promise of the service-at-cost plan cannot be carried out.

In Cincinnati there is the same record of high fares, increasing deficits, and general chaos—except perhaps in a worse form than in the other cities. The fare at present is eight cents. Under the service-at-cost contract proper, the fare went up as high as nine cents. But the city destroyed the whole meaning of the service-at-cost idea—which is theoretically based on automatic regulation of rates to cost—when it went into the courts and secured the validation of a supplementary ordinance under which the fare had to fall back to a lower figure. Dallas, also, was obliged to destroy its service-at-cost ordinance with a maximum rate of five cents when it allowed a six-cent charge last year.

So it runs: Memphis, Tennessee, seven cents flat; Rochester, New York, seven cents; Montreal, seven cents; Youngstown, Ohio, nine cents cash, one cent transfer charge, six tickets for fifty cents; Boston, ten cents; Eastern Massachusetts railway system, ten cents.

Here we have not service-at-cost but cost-plus—as is inevitable under private ownership of public services. The public and the private interests are inherently antagonistic. As long as they try to function together, the public will get the short end. Accurate items of cost can be ascertained, it is true. But what items represent true cost is another story. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars in items are subjects of dispute and can be (and have been) allowed the companies in different cases. The valuation upon which the rate of return is to be computed is another essential element on which the public almost invariably finds itself defeated. Even in Cleveland $7,000,000 worth of old cable lines were thrown in, on which returns had to be earned. Crisply stated, service-at-cost today (1) means fares over five cents; (2) does not mean the destruction of transfer charges; (3) has not solved the problem of incentive but has rather complicated that problem. It will be further handicapped in New York because it has been imposed upon the city and not accepted by it. Joseph B. Eastman, Interstate Commerce Commissioner, rightly states that "service-at-cost" should never be put into operation by State regulating commissions, because its success depends upon local co-operation.

That brings up another serious weak spot in the proposed transit plan. Not only has it borrowed from Cleveland but also from Chicago and Kansas City. It has done this in the board of control feature. This board is to have supervision of a holding company, which in turn is to control three large operating companies resulting from the consolidation of the thirty-five present corporations. Three of the members of this board shall be appointed by the city, three by the operating companies, and one by the other six. In case the city and the companies cannot agree on the seventh member, he shall be appointed by the Transit Commission. The city is to have no representation whatsoever on the boards of the operating companies. What does all this mean? That the so-called city participation in control is pure mockery. It is minority "control." All the rites and ceremonies of vesting title in the city are meaningless, also, so long as the economic power represented by the union of investment with operation continues in private hands. The curse of the street railway industry, as Commissioner Eastman and other witnesses of his type testified before the Federal Electric Railway Commission, has been and is the dictatorship of the banker over the management. In the Transit Commission's scheme this dictatorship is made permanent by public recognition. A special reward is offered of an additional 1½ per cent of return to the holders of bonds for "efficient and economical management"! Under real municipal ownership what have bondholders, pray, to do with management?

"But," champions for the Commission answer, "what about the municipal ownership we are to get finally out of this plan?" There is to be no municipal ownership out of the plan! In 1907 Chicago entered into a partnership scheme under which municipal ownership was "assured." The city had voted for such ownership, and that is what it wanted. Under the arrangement entered into, 55 per cent of the proceeds over a 5 per cent return to capital was to go to a city fund for the purchase of the roads. The fund grew. So did the valuation, as readjusted by the Board of Supervising Engineers (board of control) from time to time—at a much greater rate than the fund. So that Chicago, so far as the plan goes, is today farther away from municipal ownership than it was fourteen years ago. The city also enjoys an eight-cent fare. In attempting to purchase the consolidated system by amortization out of earnings, under present conditions, the Commission is only placing hay before the donkey in order to make him work without getting the feed. In order to keep up this fund and do all the other things necessary a high fare will be needed, and high fares mean a falling off in traffic and no final assurance of a great increase in revenue.

The cities that have secured real municipal ownership in this country and Canada have not gotten it through partnership schemes. They have secured it through building up independent lines, completely under municipal control, and by compelling the companies through competition to surrender. Then, the purchase of the entire private system has been assured. That is the way that Seattle has secured its system. It is the method followed in Toronto, San Francisco, and Detroit—in all of which cities definite negotiations are now on for the outright purchase of the private system.

Seattle, of course, is not an achievement wholly to be proud of. Ole Hanson, the Americanizer, over the protest of the real champions of municipal ownership in that city, took over the railway at a figure only a little smaller than that publicly set by the company, without having a valuation made. Municipal ownership in Seattle has suffered much thereby. For, the valuation is as much "the whole thing" as any one item in the complex street railway problem can be. Upon it depend the rate of return, the fare, the purchase price, the condition of finances, and many other things. The neglect by the Transit Commission to inform the public of the methods it is using in its valuation of the companies' property is inexcusable. Another idea at one time serviceable to the people—the reproduction-cost theory—is now being used to advantage by the companies. They are adding to it many peculiar methods of increasing their valua-

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tions. P. H. Gadsden, president of the American Electric Railway Association, stated at the 1920 convention of that body that the time was opportune to get across service-at-cost contracts because liberal valuations could now be obtained.

The most promising feature of the transit report is the evident intention to put through a consolidation of all the transportation lines. This has now become an economic and civic necessity. New York is one of the few cities in which this consolidation does not now exist. The complexity of the present problem is shown by the fact that whereas a few other cities, such as Washington, D. C., and Dayton, Ohio, have two and four operating companies respectively, New York has no less than thirty-five. This means an inadequate transfer system, excessive overhead costs, obsolete equipment, and poor service. It is to be doubted, however, whether the whole burden of supporting the weak surface lines should be thrown upon the rapid transit lines. It is of the greatest importance, in a city like New York, that these latter systems should be maintained at the lowest possible fare and in the best of condition. Those surface lines which cannot be scrapped should be maintained by taxation if they cannot meet operating expenses on a five-cent fare.

Spurious municipal ownership is bad. It will discredit real municipal ownership if it does not work well—if it means high fares, for example, or increasing deficits. It will mean postponement of real municipal ownership. For the testimony before the Federal Electric Commission showed that full municipal ownership is finally inevitable. There seems to be little possibility that the Transit Commission can be overthrown. That being the case, let the Commission put through the consolidation which the companies must have and the public wants; but let it be under "private ownership" of the privately owned lines for the time being and known as such. The people can then see the situation and lay a further constructive plan toward making the whole unified system public property. But any final plan, to be successful, must have the consent of the people; it cannot be thrust upon them.

The Second Assembly of the League

By ROBERT DELL

Geneva, October 8

THE Second Assembly of the League of Nations has come to an end after lasting just a month. It has left me with an impression—shared by many delegates—even less favorable than that of last year. A certain atmosphere of enthusiasm and hopefulness in the first Assembly was succeeded this fall by one of disillusion and listlessness. Many people have come to the conclusion that the League of Nations is already moribund and, for my part, I have considerable doubt whether it can last in its present form. More than ever has it become clear that a mere league of governments can never solve the problems with which our world is faced. I will go further: in my opinion no political body can solve them. And the Assembly of the League of Nations is saturated with politics. Politics and justice, as one of the delegates said to me, can never run in harness. We must choose between them. Political intrigue was even more rife in the Assembly this year than last, and, the older the League grows, the more intrigue there is likely to be. The Assembly is even worse in this regard than a parliament, the struggle between rival national interests being keener and more unscrupulous than that between rival party or personal interests.

I said in *The Nation* last year that the British Empire ultimately dominated the Assembly. That has been still more true this year. Indeed, the British domination is now complete—thanks, in great measure, to the astonishing stupidity of French policy and tactics. Last year there were signs of an incipient tendency to revolt on the part of the smaller countries and I anticipated that the struggle for supremacy between the Assembly and the Council would be fought out at this year's session. I was mistaken. Italy, which tried last year to organize the opposition, has entirely succumbed to British influence, and the large majority of the smaller countries have followed that example. Moreover, last year Great Britain, France, and Japan as a rule acted together. This year it has been Great Britain first and the rest nowhere. The League is becoming little more than a branch establishment of the British Empire.

As I have said, French policy is largely to blame for this development. Very early in the session it was plain that there would be a struggle for supremacy between England and France and that the Assembly was falling into two groups under British and French influence, respectively. In that struggle France was beaten hands down and, by the end of the session, the French adherents were reduced to the Little Entente (Czecho-Slovakia, Servia, and Rumania) and Poland. Even Belgium had deserted France. The first episode in the struggle was the election of the president. At a private meeting of a few important delegations called by the British it was decided to propose Jonkheer van Karnebeek for the presidency. Belgium agreed but the French delegation, which had not been consulted, at once determined to find an opposition candidate. M. Gustave Ador, one of the Swiss delegates, was sounded and was willing to stand, but M. Motta, chief of the Swiss delegation, objected that, if any Swiss delegate were proposed, it should be himself, and M. Ador was obliged to decline nomination. The French, who disliked M. Motta, then fixed their choice on M. da Cunha. It was a clever selection, since it secured the support of the South American block. Nevertheless, Jonkheer Van Karnebeek was elected by twenty-one votes to fifteen. M. da Cunha, who was personally quite an acceptable candidate, evidently obtained very few European votes. Whereas Mr. Balfour himself proposed Jonkheer Van Karnebeek, the French had their candidate nominated by Rumania. This was in itself a sign of weakness, for it showed that the French delegation would not risk probable defeat.

Only thirty-eight out of the forty-eight states belonging to the League were, by the way, represented at the beginning of the Assembly. Four other delegations arrived soon after, but Argentina, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, and Salvador sent no delegates. The abstention of four of the six Central American states was generally attributed to the refusal of the United States to enter the League. Argentina has not yet given notice of an intention to withdraw formally from the League, and the admission of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania has now increased the

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number of members to fifty-one. I mentioned last year the very favorable impression made by M. Frédéric Doret, the Haitian delegate. This year Haiti was quite as ably represented by M. Dante Bellegarde, the Haitian Minister at Paris, a man of remarkable gifts. We have come to the conclusion over here that Haiti must be an unusually intelligent country or unusually fortunate in its politicians.

The presidential election made some people think that the South American states were under French influence, but that soon proved to be a mistake. The French were never again in so large a minority as in the presidential election—usually half a dozen states at the most supported them. The Assembly has marked the bankruptcy of French diplomacy and the decline of French influence in Europe. I say this with no sort of satisfaction. In my opinion, the dominance of Great Britain is a grave danger. I wish no country to be dominant. But the more widely the facts become known the more chance there will be of the French people facing them and changing its rulers for men with a little more good sense and intelligence. France will sink to the position of Spain unless the French people recognize in time that her path of safety is to be found in abandoning a hopeless struggle with Great Britain for hegemony and adopting a sincerely internationalist policy. Before very long there will be a change of government in England, which will involve the abandonment of imperialism. Then will be the critical moment which will decide whether England and France are definitely to part company—as they must if there be no corresponding change in French policy—or to join hands in creating the United States of Europe.

One would really have drawn from the tactics of the French delegation at the Assembly the conclusion that they wished to advertise the weakness of France. They rarely lost an occasion of putting themselves in a minority of five or six. But I do not think the French delegates were to blame. They included nobody with Mr. Balfour's astuteness or with the moral authority of Dr. Nansen or Lord Robert Cecil—unquestionably the two biggest figures in the Assembly. But the individual intelligence of the French delegation was by no means below the average—quite the contrary. The mischief was that they had to act on the instructions of the Quai d'Orsay, whose diplomacy under the guidance of M. Philippe Berthelot has become the most stupid in Europe. That was particularly evident in the most glaring blunder—the unaccountable opposition of France to the convention for preventing the traffic in women and children. The blunder was the more conspicuous since the opposition instead of being frank took the form of a ridiculous quibble about procedure. The Assembly was asked to pass a resolution expressing the hope that the convention be adopted by the League without delay. M. Léon Bourgeois, chief of the French delegation, absented himself from the sitting at which the subject was discussed, whence I conclude that the French delegation had received explicit instructions from Paris with which he did not agree. The unpleasant task of putting the French case was left to M. Hanotaux. He was obviously in a state of extreme nervousness, which was increased by the very unfavorable reception that his amendment received from the Assembly, and I think it impossible that he could have persisted as he did unless such explicit instructions had been received.

M. Hanotaux declared that the French delegation was in entire agreement with the principle of the proposed convention, but desired delay to study some of its provisions. He therefore proposed that the Assembly should merely invite the governments of the various states to inform the secretary-general of the League within two months whether they were agreed that a protocol for the signature of the convention should be opened. Ostensibly this was a mere question of form, for the proposed resolution obliged no state to sign the convention at once and France, or any other, could wait two or even twelve months before signing it. Since it seemed incredible that the French delegation should insist on such a point it was universally assumed, as Mr. Balfour said plainly in his very outspoken speech on the subject, that France, in spite of what M. Hanotaux said, did not intend to sign the convention and did not wish to have the odium of publicly dissenting from a convention approved by the Assembly. Mr. Balfour's speech was a merciless exposure of M. Hanotaux's sophistries, which almost startled the Assembly by its shafts of bland but terrible irony. M. LaFontaine, on behalf of Belgium, and M. Motta, for Switzerland, also spoke strongly against the French amendment which was rejected by twenty-five votes against eight, four delegations abstaining.

One of the most striking defeats of French diplomacy was in connection with the Polish-Lithuanian dispute. It was, of course, France that prevented the Council of the League from demanding, in the first place, as it should have done, the evacuation by General Zellgowski's army of the Vilna territory, occupied in defiance of the armistice convention signed by the Polish Government. From the first France has supported, if not encouraged, Polish obstinacy and, even when M. Hymans had after months of work elaborated a scheme for the future of Vilna and induced the Lithuanians to accept its main principles, Poland refused to agree. A little pressure from France would soon have settled the matter, but it was not forthcoming. Then, when the matter came before the Council during the session of the Assembly, all the other members of the Council were so indignant with the Poles that M. Bourgeois was obliged to throw them over publicly and declare his agreement with a speech of Mr. Balfour's in which they were severely trounced.

I have said that France apparently desired the Assembly to do nothing. In that respect it must be admitted that she has had her way to a very great extent, although not through any action of her own. The Assembly has set up the Court of International Justice and elected its judges. That is its sole tangible achievement, which would be a more important one if the court were in fact a court of justice, instead of being an arbitration tribunal. In the matter of armaments the Assembly has once more done nothing. The maxim of the Great Powers was "Wait for Washington." The smaller countries, who have not been invited to Washington, protested but were powerless. Again, as last year, economic questions have been almost entirely neglected. M. Lafontaine on one occasion spoke of the necessity of universal free trade, but his was a voice crying in the wilderness. No attempt at all has been made to solve the economic and financial problems that confront the civilized world. Yet they are the key to the solution of every other problem and they must be solved before any other problem can be touched. The only way to get rid of war is to get rid of its causes, and its primary causes are economic. Here is the test of the sincerity of governmental professions of a desire to abolish war. Tried by that test, the League of Nations has failed and failed

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miserably. Let the governments cease to mock us by declaring that they will the end when not one of them wills the means. Had the delegates at Geneva been financiers instead of politicians, something might have been done. Cosmopolitan finance has its dangers, but it is always in favor of peace and all the financiers I know realize that the suppression of economic frontiers is the first and most essential condition of peace. They will the means as well as the end. So long as the Sovereign State is rampant and economic and political frontiers exist, war will remain inevitable and no league of sovereign states will avert it. Would the United States have remained united if the economic frontiers between the different States had been allowed to remain? You have achieved unity by suppressing them. The world can achieve it in no other way.

Thanks to Lord Robert Cecil an attempt to whittle down Article 18 of the Covenant was adjourned to next year. This article, which obliges the registration and publication of "every treaty or international engagement" on pain of nullity is the one really useful provision of the Covenant. The article has not been universally observed and the states that have not observed it wish to alter it. A commission of jurists appointed by the Council declared that the article means what it says—which is an unusual admission on the part of jurists—but proposed for that reason that it should be whittled away to nothing by making various exceptions and, above all, striking out the provisions that a treaty or international engagement shall not be binding until registered. The committee of the Assembly to which the matter was referred refused to adopt the proposal to suppress the sentence invalidating unregistered treaties, but it proposed a most dangerous amendment to the article, exempting from its scope agreements "of a purely technical or administrative nature which have no bearing on political international relations." As Lord Robert Cecil stated, no international engagement can be said to have no bearing on political international relations, and it is a little strange that a subsidiary instrument should escape registration while the main instrument is subject to it. Of course the real object of the proposed amendment was to make exceptions that would become the rule—to retain the form without the substance. Above all it was desired to exempt military conventions under the category of subsidiary instruments. As the article stands, it makes military conventions impossible, which is a strong reason for not altering it. As has been said, the matter has been adjourned, but the resolution of the Assembly gave members of the League the liberty during the ensuing year "to interpret their obligations in conformity with the proposed amendment." So the League of Nations has sanctioned military conventions for a year at least. France and Belgium, the Little Entente, Poland and Rumania can breathe again, to say nothing of the other states that have no doubt made military conventions or other secret treaties of which we know nothing. They are now declared to be valid for a year without registration. All that Lord Cecil has been able to do is to adjourn the permanent destruction of the article. This, of course, is a matter as to which the French and English governments are entirely agreed. It is, like the economic question, a test of the sincerity of the League. And the way in which both questions have been treated by the majority of its members justifies the opinion that this league of governments called League of Nations is an organized hypocrisy.

Wall Street Notes

For November 16, 1999

By WALLER BROAD

WILLIAM THOMPSON, the leading representative of the House of Morton, arrived today on the new 100,000-ton Cunarder, the Monomania. Mr. Thompson is in an optimistic frame of mind. He is quite sure that the $8,000,000,000 interest due American investors in European securities will be paid promptly during the year 2000. All that is necessary is for the American people to have faith in the future and lend the Europeans enough money in the coming year to enable them to meet their interest charges. The new loans to Europe will permit American business men and farmers to dispose of their surplus stocks at a good rate. The outlook for business therefore, says Mr. Thompson, was never better. The financial situation in Europe has been greatly strengthened and simplified by the recent refunding operations. The $210,000,000,000 debt incurred in the World War of 1914-18, which was consolidated with the remainders of the Napoleonic War debt in 1954, has been reconsolidated with the debt incurred in the Cosmic War of 1975-92. The whole, amounting to $375,999,999,-999,999.25, to be exact, has been refunded safely at 10 per cent. The new plan, combined with the French lottery system and provisions for heavy annual drawings at 275, makes the new bonds a very attractive proposition to American investors.

The mid-Europe municipalities loan, originally floated at 8 per cent, and refunded three times, is at last definitely in default. The house of Finkelstein, Loeb & Bamburger have arranged with the governments concerned for their representative, Mr. Roosevelt Lincoln Goldstein, to act as receiver for the bankrupt cities. Mr. Goldstein and a corps of municipal experts have already sailed for Europe to take over the property of the cities and assume the duty of administering their affairs in the interest of American creditors.

Twelve of the Russian forest, mineral, and land concessions made by the Bolshevist Government to American capitalists in 1923 have expired, but arrangements have been made with the Soviet authorities for an extension of the original term to 999 years. This is regarded in the Street as a great triumph for American business. These concessions have been paying 15 per cent a year in addition to contributions to a sinking fund which has amortized all the original bonds floated by the American concessionnaires. As no money was ever paid in for the stock, it will be seen that the Russo-American Corporation is to be heartily congratulated.

The purchase of the entire debt of the Dutch East Indies by an American syndicate in 1935 and the loan of 250,000,-000,000 guilders made in 1960 have at last produced a perplexing problem for American investors in the funds. It was learned yesterday evening after the close of the Exchange that the Dutch East Indies had definitely defaulted on the interest due and that with the consent of the State Department Branch in Wall Street a strong creditors' com-

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mittee had been formed to take over the islands. Without waiting to consult the Washington Office of the State Department, the New York Branch ordered Admiral Smith, stationed at Manila, to steam at once to the Dutch islands. The Dutch-American Loan Corporation stocks rose from 76 opening this morning to 117 closing.

A favorable report was issued today by the Franco-American Consolidated and Refunding Corporation. This company, it will be recalled, was formed in 1978 when the French Government defaulted payments on the consolidated internal loan of 293,000,000,000 francs. It took over and administered the Louvre, the Palace of Versailles, the state railways, and the Sorbonne. Thanks to American enterprise, these institutions were quickly developed into paying propositions. The tax on American sightseers was raised. By judicious administration the enrolment of the Sorbonne was increased to 120,000. The advertising concessions in the Versailles gardens also proved highly profitable. The interest on the debt is being met promptly and sinking fund provisions are being taken care of.

News from Poland was discouraging today. The mark, in spite of the efforts of the American Paper Company which is acting as a receiver for the republic, fell heavily. It now takes five thousand Polish marks to buy an American dollar. The A. P. C., as receiver, has stopped the issue of denominations below 100 marks on the ground that competing paper companies were buying up the smaller denominations for pulp.

The Consolidated American-Oriental Holding Corporation, which is administering India and China for American creditors, declared a dividend of 10 per cent in cash today and a stock dividend of 30 per cent.

King Henry IX sailed yesterday from London on his long projected visit to the United States. It is rumored that a new United Kingdom internal loan of three billion pounds will be floated in the Street soon. A part of this money will be applied, it is said, to the fund for that portion of the unemployed now spending their vacations at Atlantic City. In memory of the eighth Henry, Trinity Church will hold special thanksgiving services on the Sunday following Henry IX's arrival.

In the Driftway

BRITISH rule of the waves is no more sure than the hegemony of the English language in the empire of sport. Tennis came to England from France, but on French courts you will hear "trente love" and on German "deuce" and "Ihr advantage." Boxing—the Drifter recalls a Paris headline "Carpentier knockout-era-t-il Joe Jeannette?" And horse-racing—in the staid old *Temps* the Drifter meets "les bookmakers," "grèves de lads," "une charmante sportswoman," "succès sur le turf," "crainte de doping," and "Racing Plomb Club de France." There are no truculent Sinn Feiners and no powerfully peaceful Gandhis to challenge British rule in the language of sport.

* * * * * *

TIMES come when the Drifter, chewing the cud of that most romantic and prejudiced and fictional form of literature, written history, suspects that the stories of progress of mankind onward and upward forever which were instilled into him in his boyhood were just another of the pretty superstitions with which mankind is led to provide more cannon fodder for future wars. It gives him a sudden and encouraging shock to read in the *Journal of Negro History* that newspapers even in Canada, which blazed the American trail toward liberation of slaves, contained, as late as 1785, such advertisements as these:

TO BE SOLD.—A Negro Wench about 18 years of age, who lately came from New York with the Loyalists. She has had the Small Pox. The Wench has a good character and is exposed to sale only from the owner having no use for her at present. Likewise will be disposed of a handsome Bay Mare. For particulars enquire of the Printer.

A gentleman going to England has for sale a Negro-wench with her child, about 26 years of age, who understands thoroughly every kind of house-work, particularly washing and cookery: And a stout Negro-boy, 13 years old: Also a good horse, cariole and harness. For particulars enquire at Mr. William Roxburgh's, Upper-town, Quebec, 10th May, 1785.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Strauss Interview

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you permit me to express my regret that the visit of your representative to me in Vienna resulted in a misunderstanding which is extremely painful to me. My understanding was that there should be no interview. I certainly cannot be responsible for utterances which in some respects were not given in the form quoted, in other cases were misunderstood, and therefore did not give my real views. Of this an example is that I had never met Mr. Bodanzky either personally or in his professional capacity. Ever since my stay in America eighteen years ago I have retained a grateful and admiring remembrance of your country. I shall be grateful if you will help me to remove this misunderstanding.

New York, October 30 RICHARD STRAUSS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Several times during the last year I have read articles on music in your journal that have made me feel very much like writing you a protest. I am personally acquainted with Miss Henrietta Straus and admire her progressive attitude in her musical research. Critically I feel she has little to offer. Courage she has, as proved by her telling the Flonzaley Quartet in one of her articles in *The Nation* that they played the Concertino of Stravinsky last fall not well. Considering that the gentlemen of the Flonzaley are the only ones who have seen that particular score, that it was written for them by Mr. Stravinsky who rehearsed them in it near Paris last summer, her statement was read with a shock by all musicians. It made her ridiculous in the estimation of *cognoscenti*.

But my reason for writing you—and I hope that you will print my letter—is Miss Straus's recent article on Richard Strauss, which I read with disgust. I know Miss Straus's anti-Germanism. She represents a certain type of American of German extraction that since 1914 inveighs against all things German with bitterness, and she has given expression to her dislike of Strauss, in this nasty interview, which she calculates will do his American tour great harm.

I am surprised that your editorial staff allowed it to pass into the columns of *The Nation*. It will be discussed in musical circles as one of the most vicious things that have appeared in a long time. One can conceive of certain New York morning papers (need I mention their names?) which are still at war

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with Germany engaging a special writer to do such an article as Miss Straus has done on Richard Strauss. None of us who admire *The Nation* ever expected to find such a piece of outright malicious anti-Germanism dragged into Art to be published in your journal.

New York, July 29 A. WALTER KRAMER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In reply to the above letter from Dr. Richard Strauss I must beg to maintain that the conversation I had with the composer in Vienna was exactly as I wrote it for *The Nation*. Not only did I have sufficient knowledge of German to understand perfectly those brief statements which he has subsequently denied, but whenever I had the slightest doubt as to the meaning of any of his remarks I could and did ask his wife to translate it for me, as she spoke excellent English. If Dr. Strauss was under the impression that I would not publish these remarks I regret doing it, as I made a special effort to leave him under no misapprehension as to my intentions. But as he did not raise the question when I said that if he would tell me just why America should give Salzburg a million dollars for a festival house *I would write it*, I naturally concluded that he had no objections to being quoted.

As to Mr. Kramer, he is, I believe, an editor of *Musical America*, a paper whose chief popularity for many years has rested upon its apparent championship of all things American. It is strange therefore that he should consider my article anti-German rather than pro-American, as it contained no word against either Germany or Germans, but merely reported the anti-American sentiments of a musician who happened to be a German. Moreover, these sentiments are not peculiarly German but are simply characteristic of a certain type of foreign artist—a type with which America has long been familiar, which embraces many nationalities, and which has consistently broken all the laws of good breeding by sneering at us at the same time that it seeks our dollars and our hospitality. This evil has always been a canker in our musical life, and until it is uprooted we can have no healthy international musical intercourse, for that, to a certain extent, depends upon international courtesy and respect. It was because I felt that America had a right to demand both—even from Richard Strauss—and not because I "calculated" that it would "do his American tour great harm," that I wrote my article. As a matter of fact, when I sought the interview, I had no idea that he even contemplated coming to America; and when I wrote it, I knew no more of his "coming American tour" than the vague information he gave me.

New York, November 1 HENRIETTA STRAUS

A Prayer for Peace

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A subscriber and reader for thirty-six years, usually but not always in accord with your positions, I send the inclosed to you in the belief that you would be ready to join in the *Amen*.

Almighty Father, whose dearly beloved Son declared His disciples to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world, and taught them, saying, Blessed are the peacemakers; Stir up, we beseech Thee, all who profess and call themselves Christians, that they may with one heart and soul strive for the deliverance of mankind from the curse of war. Quicken Thy Church, O God, with holy zeal to lift up an ensign of brotherhood to the nations; take away from her the reproach of silence and time-serving, and make her a swift witness against the aggressions of the strong and the devices of the crafty, to rebuke the counsels of violence and the shedding of blood. Hear us, O Lord, in the Name of Him whom Thou hast given for a leader and commander to the peoples, Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Helena, Montana, October 27 WILLIAM FREDERIC FABER,
Bishop of Montana

Books

Greek Dignity and Yankee Ease

Collected Poems. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

A SINGLE solid volume holds without crowding all but a few lines of the verse into which one of the acutest of Americans has distilled his observations and judgments during thirty studious, pondering, devoted, elevated years. Never once does Mr. Robinson show any signs of having withdrawn his attention from the life passing immediately under his eyes; but he has no more frittered away his powers in a trivial contemporaneousness than he has buried them under a recluse abstention from actualities: he has, rather, with his gaze always upon the facts before him, habitually seen through and behind them to the truths which give them significance and coherence. That he from the first chose deliberately to follow an individual—however solitary—path appears from a very early sonnet Dear Friends:

> The shame I win for singing is all mine,
> The gold I miss for dreaming is all yours;

that he from the first deliberately chose the path of stubborn thought rather than of genial emotion appears from his unforgettable George Crabbe:

> Whether or not we read him, we can feel
> From time to time the vigor of his name
> Against us like a finger for the shame
> And emptiness of what our souls reveal
> In books that are as altars where we kneel
> To consecrate the flicker, not the flame.

In the nineties, when England was yellow with its Oscar Wildes and Aubrey Beardsleys and America was pink-and-white with its Henry van Dykes and Hamilton Wright Mabies, Mr. Robinson was finding himself in the novels of Thomas Hardy—the sonnet on whom has been omitted from this collection—and fortifying himself in the study of Crabbe's "hard, human pulse." His absolute loyalty to the ideals of art and wisdom thus achieved is a thrilling thing.

The long delay of the fame to which he had every right may possibly be held in part to account for his countless variations upon the theme of vanity—even of futility, of which he is the laureate unsurpassed. Leaving to blither poets the pleasure of singing the achievements of the successful at the top of the wave, Mr. Robinson took for himself the task of studying the unarrived or the *passé* or the merely mediocre. Consider Bewick Finzer,

> Familiar as an old mistake,
> And futile as regret;

consider Miniver Cheevy, who wept that he was ever born because he could not stand the present and longed for the colors of romance—

> Miniver Cheevy, born too late,
> Scratched his head and kept on thinking;
> Miniver coughed, and called it fate,
> And kept on drinking;

consider the Poor Relation, who has perforce outstayed her welcome and on whom

> The small intolerable drums
> Of Time are like slow drops descending;

consider the women-maddened John Everldown, and Richard Corey committing suicide in the midst of what the world had thought triumphant prosperity, and Amaryllis shrunk and dead, and Aaron Stark so hard that pity makes him snicker, and Isaac and Archibald each telling their little friend that the other has grown senile, and the graceless, ancient vagabond Captain Craig discoursing gracefully from his death-bed like some trivial Socrates, and Leffingwell and Lingard and Clavering—

> Who died because he couldn't laugh—

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and Calverly, and that incomparably futile Tasker Norcross whose

tethered range
Was only a small desert,

and yet who knew that there was a whole world of beauty and meaning somewhere if he could only reach it—all these are the brothers and the victims of futility. Even when Mr. Robinson ascends to examine the successful he bears with him the sense of the vanity of human life. The peak of his poetry is that speech in which Shakespeare, in Ben Jonson Entertains a Man from Stratford, likens men to flies for brevity and unimportance:

Your fly will serve as well as anybody,
And what's his hour? He flies, and flies, and flies,
And in his fly's mind has a brave appearance;
And then your spider gets him in her net,
And eats him out and hangs him up to dry.
That's Nature, the kind mother of us all.
And then your slattern housemaid swings her broom,
And where's your spider? And that's Nature, also.
It's Nature, and it's Nothing. It's all Nothing.
It's all a world where bugs and emperors
Go singularly back to the same dust,
Each in his time; and the old, ordered stars
That sang together, Ben, will sing the same
Old stave tomorrow.

And in his great flight into legend, in "Merlin" and "Lancelot," Mr. Robinson elected to view a crumbling order from angles which seem opposite enough but which both exhibit Camelot as a city broken by frailties which on other occasions might be heroic virtues: Merlin follows love to Vivien's garden at Broceliande and the kingdom of Arthur falls to ruin because it has no strong, wise man to uphold it; Lancelot leaves love behind him to follow the Light, like a strong, wise man, but the Light dupes him as much as love has duped Merlin, and ruin overtakes Camelot none the less. This is Mr. Robinson's reading of existence: We are all doomed men and we hasten to our ends according to some whimsy which establishes our hours soon or late, leaving us, however, the consolation of being perhaps able to perceive our doom and perhaps even to understand it.

What is it that holds Mr. Robinson, with his profound grasp of the tragic, from the representation of those popular, magnificent hours of tragedy when—as a more pictorial critic might say—the volcano bursts from its hidden bed and the thunder reverberates along the mountains? Well, Mr. Robinson is a Yankee, free of thought but economical of speech; he is another Hawthorne, disciplined by a larger learning, a more rigorous intellect, and a stricter medium. The light of irony plays too insistently over all he writes to allow him to indulge in any Elizabethan splendors. His characters cannot rave. They, too, in a sort, are Yankees poet-lifted, and they must be at their most eloquent in their silences. Consequently the fates which this poet brings upon his quiet stage must all be understood and not merely felt. He gives the least possible help; he pitilessly demands that his dramatic episodes be listened to with something like the tenseness with which the protagonists undergo them and without alleviating commentary or beguiling chorus; he never ceases to cerebrate or allows his readers to. Such methods mean selected readers. They imply, too, on the poet's part, that he pores too intently over the white core of life to look long or often at the more gorgeous surfaces. If Mr. Robinson has any strong passion for the outward pageantry of life—such as men like Scott or Dickens have—he does not communicate it. His rhythms throb with heightened thought not with quickened pulses, or only with pulses quickened by thought. No line or stanza escapes his steady, conscious, intelligent hands and runs off singing. Endowed at the outset with a subtle mind and a temperament of great integrity, he has kept both uncorrupted and unweakened and has hammered his lovely images always out of the purest metal and in the chastest designs.

To lay too much stress upon the tragic and the fateful in his work is to do it, however, less than justice. It contains hundreds of lines of the shrewdest wordly wisdom, of the most delicate insight into human character in its untortured modes, of rare beauty tangled in melodious language. He has employed the sonnet as a vehicle for dramatic portraiture until he has almost created a new type; he has evolved an octosyllabic eight-line stanza which is unmistakably, inalienably, inimitably his; he has achieved a blank verse which flawlessly fits his peculiar combination of Greek dignity and Yankee ease; he has, for all his taste for the severer measures, taught his verses, when he wanted, to lilt in a fashion that has put despair in many a lighter head. Nor must it be overlooked that Mr. Robinson has written some of the gayest verses of his generation, as witness these from the ever-memorable Uncle Ananias:

His words were magic and his heart was true,
And everywhere he wandered he was blessed.
Out of all ancient men my childhood knew
I choose him and I mark him for the best.
Of all authoritative liars, too,
I crown him loveliest.

How fondly I remember the delight
That always glorified him in the spring;
The joyous courage and the benedight
Profusion of his faith in everything!
He was a good old man, and it was right
That he should have his fling. . . .

All summer long we loved him for the same
Perennial inspiration of his lies;
And when the russet wealth of autumn came,
There flew but fairer visions to our eyes—
Multiple, tropical, winged with a feathery flame,
Like birds of paradise. . . .

CARL VAN DOREN

The Apostle of Peace

Romain Rolland. By Stefan Zweig. Translated from the original manuscript by Eden and Cedar Paul. Thomas Seltzer. $4.

SUCH a work as "Romain Rolland" is not merely a book—it is an inspiring message of love and peace, written with a remarkable warmth and in a beautiful, sincere style. Stefan Zweig himself is one of the few European souls who before the war had premonitions of a coming debacle and during the war held fast the banner of love instead of hatred. Before the war he found consolation in reading and studying Emile Verhaeren, who was for him the expression of universality, the radiant poet of vigorous and ardent human brotherhood; during the war he was compelled to live in moral solitude and to become, to use Romain Rolland's expression, "a martyr of the New Faith—the Human International." The book on Rolland is a logical sequel to Zweig's own creative rovings. As far as the story of Rolland's life is concerned, Zweig does not tell us very much. It is but natural. It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to write a biography of a man still living, still struggling, still remaining the spiritual leader of a small but inspired part of mankind. Interesting is the brief description of Rolland's life in Switzerland during the war; interesting are a few details about his work at that period. But Zweig reveals little of what was previously unknown. The chief value of the book lies in its literary characterization of Rolland and its observations on his work.

Unknown for almost twenty years, struggling almost unnoticed at home and abroad against mediocrity and stagnancy and for an ideal of world peace, Romain Rolland appears to Stefan Zweig (as to most of us) a miracle, "a miracle of one man's keeping his senses amongst frenzied millions, of one man's remaining free amid the universal slavery of public opinion." He lived a life of involuntary seclusion, somewhere in a Paris garret, unknown and forgotten by his countrymen and even

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friends, but for years kept his faith burning despite universal indifference. Inspired by Shakespeare, partly by Goethe, and mainly by the great geniuses of music like Beethoven and Richard Wagner, he tried to unveil the tragedy and the meaning of the French Revolution, but his voice remained unheeded. His heroic revolutionary dramas failed; his noble fight against "the drawing-room and alcove theater" failed. The theater of France could not and would not part with its boulevard traditions and its principles of platitude and mediocrity. Even the sympathetic interference of the famous Mounet Sully could not help in breaking the dead wall of moral stagnancy that was the French theater. Rolland turned his attention to the heroic, to the tragedy of the great. "Beethoven," "Michelangelo," "Tolstoi"—monumental, profound works, they remained almost unnoticed. Mere contemplation of the great who had passed could not, however, satisfy the living man, who foresaw the coming breakdown; he had to plunge into contemporary actual life; he wrote "Jean Christophe."

Jean Christophe, Olivier, Grazia, the visions of Germany, France, and Italy, the best incarnations of the finest Europe had, were bound to be drowned in blood almost the day after they were brought before the eyes of the indifferent and blind world. Then followed years of anxiety, moral torture, and spiritual seclusion, which were marked first by "Above the Battle," then by deep tragic silence (it was impossible to talk to a deaf world), and finally by the "Manifesto of the Independence of Spirit" and by "Clerambault." Rolland's voice became more heeded, his appeals more influential, yet he himself remained alone until today. Those of his generation, even his dear friends, espoused the cause of hate: Maurice Barrès, Charles Péguy, Paul Claudel—erstwhile his classmates, co-dreamers, and coworkers in the *Révue de la quinzaine*—were lured into the whirlwind of chauvinism; "they would rather act than understand." They too believed in humanity with a capital *H;* they too had faith in final reconciliation, but as Zweig ably puts it, their faith was devoid of passion, they had "merely a sentimental fondness for peace, just as they were friendly toward ideas of social equality, toward philanthropy, toward the abolition of capital punishment."

Romain Rolland's was and is not a faith devoid of passion. Herein lies his greatness and the cause of his spiritual sturdiness. He remains himself no matter what the consequences. What is Rolland's main concern? Peace? Not quite. He would not accept the dead peace of self-satisfied mediocrity. "I do not seek peace, I seek life," his Jean Christophe once said. He would only substitute for our contemporary bloody fights the greater and nobler struggle of man for his individuality. Mob spirit, which absorbs the individual—that is what Rolland fights. Man today does not act in fact; he is being pushed to action by dominating and crushing mediocrity. He faces the very problem which Emerson envisaged when he said that "nothing is more rare in any man than an act of his own." The tragedy of Rolland is threefold. (1) He himself is now in the position of the great men whose lives he has so admirably described; he dared to be ten, twenty, a hundred years ahead of his generation at a period of reaction. More than a decade ago, when our "conglomerated mediocrity," as Herzen said, was still unaware of the coming storm, Rolland wrote: "The Europe of today no longer possesses a common book; it has no poem, no prayer, no act of faith which is the common heritage of all. This lack is fatal. . . . There is no one who has written for all, no one who has fought for all." Rolland is the only one who since Tolstoi has written for all, but his voice is still dimmed by the din of the world-tempest of hate. (2) The old Fate of the ancient Greek was replaced by the false idea of Fatherland, which is as cruel as Fate. "Truth is the same to all nations, but each nation has its own lies which it speaks of as its idealism." Rolland could never accept the worship of this "lie-idealism"; his Olivier once said: "I love my country, I love it just as you love yours. But am I for this reason to betray my conscience, to kill my soul? This would signify the betrayal of my country. I belong to the army of the spirit, not to the army of force." But nationalism, chauvinism, and the army of force are still in the saddle. (3) In his struggle Man should stop resorting to violence. Rolland's early spiritual guide, Tolstoi, has remained his moral leader to this day. Tolstoi denied violence its reputation as a purifier. It is worthy of note that Rolland unconditionally rejected violence as a means to better social ends. Anatole France has espoused the cause of the Communists with all their methods. Even Bertrand Russell has accepted the possibility of "temporary violence." The Clarté, led by Henri Barbusse, has openly espoused the cause of violence. Romain Rolland's idealism remains unbending. It is a pity that Stefan Zweig does not inform us that Rolland left Clarté, that an open letter to that effect denouncing violence appeared in the Italian press before the appearance of "Clerambault." Consequently Rolland now stands alone as much as ever. Should we view this fact as his defeat? To this we may answer, with him, that not victory but defeat makes men and their ideas great. The task of the real man is "to be defeated in a greater and yet a greater cause." We may say about him, what he said about the great lives he has described: "pauvres vaincus, les vainqueurs du monde."

Stefan Zweig was apparently overwhelmed with his own emotions while writing his book. He, too, is a man whose faith is not devoid of passion. But he is not always clear enough, he does not always embrace the whole scope of Rolland's vision. He overemphasizes the European ideals of Rolland. To him Rolland is the bearer of a European synthesis of culture to the realization of which, Zweig says, Rolland is striving. This is not quite correct. Since "Les Précurseurs" at least Rolland's faith in European spiritual and moral self-sufficiency has been shattered and he now looks to Asia as well as to Europe for the realization of a universal ideal.

GREGORY ZILBOORG

History from the Sources

Scenes from the Court of Peter the Great. Based on the Latin Diary of John G. Korb. Edited by F. L. Glaser. Nicholas L. Brown. $2.

Pope Alexander VI and His Court. Extracts from the Latin Diary of Johannes Burchardus. Edited by F. L. Glaser. Nicholas L. Brown. $2.

The First Crusade. The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants. By August C. Krey. Princeton University Press. $3.

As all history is ultimately based on the sources it might be argued that it would be best to imbibe it as near the spring as possible. In fact, however, the participants in the game rarely see it in its due perspective; nearness lends enchantment but distance lends law. On the other hand a rare and untransmittable flavor of time and place is found in the contemporary memoir or chronicle. Few men know how they look, and still less how they will look to posterity; but most men know how they feel, and some of them can tell it. Men writing of events in which they took part crowd their pages with those little personal details that are so important to them, and often so interesting to others, but they can rarely grasp the general ideas under which society is moving and acting. Take a fanciful illustration from another science. Suppose that insects were intelligent enough to write, as some mammals are intelligent enough to read. What should we learn from the ancient chronicles of the hymenoptera? We should learn the names of a vast number of individual bees, particularly of queens famous for the beauty of their snub noses and filmy wings. We should hear songs and sagas in praise of the drone who, smitten with love of the fair one, scorned the *Liebestod* that he knew would be his, in his ardor to enjoy her. We should hear of the insolent acts of other drones which precipitated each autumnal Danaid-massacre, and of the successful

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rebellions which ended in each vernal swarm. From all this we should doubtless get a picture of apian psychology that we now lack. New ideas of motherhood might be gathered from the tales of the Lycosidae, the spiders who carry their fifty young ones on their backs. New vistas of sexual passion might be opened even to Freud and to D. H. Lawrence by the memoirs of a mantis, rapturous with the delight of devouring her bridegroom on the morning after the wedding.

And vertebrates, of the genus homo sapiens, write contemporary history much as we have imagined insects might do. Their interest is exclusively personal, and often scandalous. Mr. Glaser has edited the most spicy extracts from two famous diaries. From the memoirs of the Austrian attaché at the court of Peter the Great we learn at first hand of the incredible barbarity of the Russian court. Among all the monstrosities who have ruled Russia, from Ivan the Terrible to Trotzky the Terrorist, none was more repulsive than this same Peter. The wholesale massacres and tortures at which he personally assisted are here described with faithful detail, almost with relish. His talent for petty cruelties was equal to his genius for gigantic crimes. A bag full of sound teeth personally extracted by him from his unfortunate courtiers was long preserved in the museum at Petrograd. Knowing that one of his officers disliked salad, he had the man's nose and mouth stuffed with salad until the blood spurted from them. Escorting his mistress to the scaffold Peter kissed her face just before and just after it was severed from her body. But whereas all these acts of madness are truly recorded, one learns from this diary hardly a thing about the reforms which made his reign important as the time when Russia was introduced to something of Western technical, military, and commercial methods.

A somewhat more important work is the diary of the master of ceremonies at the court of Alexander VI. It is true that one searches Burchardus's pages in vain for any light on the Renaissance, on the art or literature that made Italy of the Cinquecento great. Nor is there any appreciation of the higher religious interests of the time, as represented by Savonarola. But there is a good deal on politics, although the bulk of the work consists of descriptions of court ceremonies and in gossip as scandalous as ever inflated the pages of Suetonius or of Brantôme. Boccaccio himself never imagined things quite so gross as are here recorded of the daily life of Christ's Vicar.

A higher tone lends dignity and charm to the passages from the contemporary writers on the First Crusade admirably selected and translated by Professor Krey. Many of the famous descriptions transcribed by later historians and known to us in the pages of Gibbon are here found in their original form. Here is the thrilling narrative of the preaching of Pope Urban and the shouted acclaim of the multitude: "God wills it!" Here are painted the parting scenes, when "the husband, commending his wife to the Lord, kissed her tenderly and, weeping, promised to return, while she, fearing that she would never see him more, fell senseless to the ground and wept for her love, whom, though living, she had lost, as though he were already dead." Here is the story of the march through the Balkans and of the skirmishes with Bulgarians. Here may be read the story of the Greek emperor's intrigue and of the extremities of hunger, thirst, and heat endured by the army on its march through Asia Minor. Here is related the authentic story of the sack of Jerusalem, when the Knights of Christ rode through the Temple of Solomon wading through blood up to their bridles. A few words on the kingdom of Baldwin, and on the manner in which the Occidentals became Oriental, conclude the majestic story.

PRESERVED SMITH

Toward the Dark Tower

Dangerous Ages. By Rose Macaulay. Boni and Liveright. $2.

MISS MACAULAY'S "Potterism" had more than a touch of acridness. Its brilliance was at moments sulphurous. In "Dangerous Ages" the flame burns pure. She shares a sort of neo-stoicism which one finds in others among the younger English writers, a stoicism that is gay rather than grave or even dour and keeps its pennant fluttering in all the winds of fate. It is tonic to see so much unflinching honesty united with such high, ungesturing courage and the ride to the dark tower undertaken with so much spiritual gallantry. For when Miss Macaulay says that all ages are dangerous she really means that all ages are fatal. She has no easy remedy to offer. She has not, indeed, any. She has entered regions where the belief in remedies is dead. Things are so, she seems to say with a bright finality. To gain peace there is nothing to do but to avoid experience—if you can and if you think the profit worth the price. At all events it is best to know, to face the facts, to nurse no unnecessary delusions, to keep cool and see straight.

Her comments are brief and frugal and she makes her points indirectly through the extremely sharp and impressive gallery of portraits in her book. First, there are the four generations of what might be called normal women, the race of mothers—Grandmama, Mrs. Hilary, Neville, and Gerda. Beside these are the typical "sports" and problematic personalities, the spontaneous variations, Rosalind the courtesan, Nan the artist, Pamela the modern professional woman. They are all concrete personalities, of course, not types or symbols. Hence none is purely illustrative and all the variations from the central type have yearnings toward it and its functioning. The implied social history is treated vertically within the four generations, horizontally in respect of the variations. Miss Macaulay rightly emphasizes the mothers and citizens through whom the world continues to revolve.

The representatives of the four generations are magnificently done. Grandmama is lapped in the calm of age. That is one refuge. But through that calm come glimpses of a sort of realism and practicality of outlook which belonged to her distant youth and which the next generation—the typically Victorian generation—lost utterly. This generation is represented by Mrs. Hilary, whose portrait is perhaps the most notable of all. Mrs. Hilary employed her active life in the exercise of the domestic emotions. The necessity or apparent necessity for their exercise being gone, she is left empty, helpless, querulous. She can no longer use her one function of mastering others through the weapon of her unselfishness. All other functions are atrophied. She is reduced to waiting for the anaesthesia of extreme old age. Her daughter Neville, the woman of forty, is in infinitely better case intellectually. She sees her mother's fate and its causes with extreme clarity of vision. But her emotions lag far behind her cognitions. How enormously important and significant for her generation that is! She gave up her career for love and marriage and her marriage is as happy as marriage is ever apt to be. But at forty she finds that she can no longer live vicariously. Mrs. Hilary could have done it to the end, had anyone needed or permitted her to live so. Neville, however, tries to take up her old medical studies. It is too late. The mind has lost its old keenness and agility. What is left her? The long effort to avoid, through the exercise of knowledge and insight, Mrs. Hilary's fate.

Hope, then, must be centered in Gerda, slim, sweet, grave, boyish, frank—the girl who had grown up during the war, for whom old prejudices and inhibitions simply didn't exist. She knew that there were amusement and art and politics and economics and nature. But she was primarily convinced that "the basis of life was the desire of the male for the female and of the female for the male. And that this had been warped and smothered and talked down and made a furtive, shameful thing and must be brought to day." She tries with a sort of ardent innocence and knowledge to do so and even holds out, for a period, against marriage with the man she loves. But she gives in finally and the implication is clear that her ages will be as difficult and dangerous as the ages of her ancestors had been and that the dangers will be essentially the same though experienced upon somewhat different terms and envisaged from different angles of knowledge.

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The escapes of the barren women from the dangers of the mothers lead to anything but happiness. Rosalind is perhaps the most contented but that is because she happens to be hard. Nan writhes under the whip of art. Once she used it as a weapon; now it is almost an affliction. A virile renunciation of life through it is not given her to achieve. Pamela gets along nicely. But Pamela is the sort that "doesn't quite see what all the fuss is about." One admits her success, but the admission contains neither envy nor desire. Better the danger and the distraction, the battle and the defeat.

It is very doubtful whether in the older and nobler and still valid sense such a book as "Dangerous Ages" belongs to what is beautiful and permanent in literature. But it is time that a distinction be made between the timeless fixation of experience, through beauty, and these vital and vivid and to us infinitely important and significant documents which interpret and so clarify and guide the practical life of men. These books are part of the actual forces of the life of the age. They have an energy which, during their briefer period of endurance, surpasses the energy of pure literature. Among documents of this kind "Dangerous Ages" occupies a very high place.

Drama

Concerning Granville Barker

IN 1905 Granville Barker wrote "The Voysey Inheritance"; in 1907 he wrote "Waste"; in 1909 he wrote "The Madras House." These three plays represented what should have been the beginnings of an impressive and fruitful career. The first of the three plays was a sound and interesting application of naturalistic technique to British life; the second and third represented both technically and intellectually the most vital personal force that had entered the British drama since the emergence of Shaw. But Mr. Barker, unlike Shaw and unlike Galsworthy whose beginnings as a dramatist were almost coincident with his own, is a man of the theater, and permitted the coldness of managers and the superstitions of critics to silence and confuse him. The chief critical superstition that cut short his career was the superstition that plays not written according to a conventional pattern will not "play." It is a superstition that cheerfully survives all experience to the contrary and is best illustrated by the antics of the ladies and gentlemen of culture who, having just been gorgeously amused by a representation of Shaw, leave the theater with the unfailing remark: "It's wonderful, but of course it isn't a play." Petrified concepts undoubtedly simplify life. Yet immobility offers but a poor spectacle and in the theater as well as elsewhere sloth and rigidity of mind have often silenced talent and resisted a fruitful extension of experience.

It has remained for the Neighborhood Playhouse to give the first American production of "The Madras House." That production makes several things clear at once: the play "plays"; its technical innovations, to which I shall return presently, are as fresh and suggestive as when the play was composed; its intellectual problem has not only survived its decade and the next but has gained point, force, pertinence. An infinite number of plays have been written on the relations of the sexes. But none except "The Madras House" has called attention to the pervasive and voluntary sexuality of the whole of Western civilization. Today as surely as in 1909 the industrial character of Europe and America is largely dictated by the problem and production of female clothing not in the homely and practical sense but in that of adornment. And the entire purpose of that adornment, whether in the shape of actual garments or not, is to stimulate the sexual appetite of men. That the use of feminine garments as frank aphrodisiacs has reached unheard-of proportions today is a commonplace and the current jest of every variety theater and every newspaper wit. Now the point that Mr.

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Barker made was simply that it might be useful to become a little more conscious of this fact than we are, to take it a little less as a matter of course, to reflect on the incontrovertible truth that in modern times and in the West men carry on all the affairs of life—the arts, the state, the economic order—in a vapor-bath of sexual stimulation. To deny the fact is either hypocrisy or a confession of sexual anæsthesia. And the most brilliant part of Mr. Barker's argument is embodied in the character of Constantine Madras who has gone to Arabia and become a Mohammedan because in Europe he could keep neither his head nor his self-respect. He is obviously overshooting the mark, and he knows it, when he pleads for the female happiness of the harem. He is a very monument of pungent sincerity in making out his case for the higher decency of a man's life in the Orient.

Such is the intellectual content of "The Madras House." But I am acquainted with few modern plays in which that content is more skilfully or unobtrusively handled or is more firmly and delicately woven into the concrete texture of those human lives which make the play. The protagonist is the great department store which is, necessarily, a great aggregation of men and women, and it is these with their psychical reactions toward the forms of life in which they are placed that dictate the discussions, the development, and the purport of the drama. It has been said and will no doubt be said again that in "The Madras House" talk takes the place of action. Nor can I hope to destroy the fallacy that the conflict of souls with those human qualities and circumstances from which all actions spring is less dramatic or less stirring than the exhibition of such fragmentary external action as the theater can furnish. But it is unimaginable that any sensitive person not inhibited by an anterior assumption of what, according to some formula of the schools, a play ought to be can witness the production of "The Madras House" without keen intellectual amusement, rich reflection, or that pleasurable enlargement of experience which makes naturalistic art so permanent and so sustaining.

In order to give the discursiveness of the play dramatic culmination Barker heightened the immediate illusion of reality by imitating the broken rhythms of life. He discards wholly the tradition of a necessary and obvious give and take in the dialogue. He uses the pauses of embarrassment, the sudden changes of subject, the trailing off of speech into silence or into the mere hum of life which experience furnishes. And it is both fascinating and delightful to see the high and strictly dramatic effectiveness of those "curtains" which omit all that is supposed to make a "curtain" and leave the tensest moment of culmination to accomplish itself, as it unfailingly does, in the spectator's mind. The form, no less than the substance of the play, far from being out of date, represents a stage of development which the drama or, more strictly speaking, the ironic comedy in English has yet to reach and which it can reach only by such intelligence and flexibility as are here combined.

The Neighborhood Playhouse production is perfect in intention and in directive skill. In so large a cast inequalities of actual execution were bound to occur. But the scrupulous sensitiveness and intelligence of the direction and the acting of Warburton Gamble, Marie de Becker, Dennis Clough, and, above all, of Whitford Kane, cannot be too warmly praised. Sporadic good productions increase among us. But there are three first-rate theaters in America and these, in the ascending order of merit, are The Plymouth, The Neighborhood, and the Garrick.

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International Relations Section

French Vested Interests at the Arms Conference

By CHARLES HODGES

FRENCH statesmen know that the line of action of every nation coming to the Arms Conference is circumscribed by the extent of its Pacific-Eastern stakes. Little, however, has been said of the French vested interests—territorial and otherwise—extending from East Asia to the South Pacific. These interests, territorial and economic, consist of (1) colonial possessions in the Far Eastern tropics from India to Indo-China; (2) a political-economic equity in China; and (3) holdings in the South Pacific.

I. French Colonial Holdings in the Far East

A. Extent

French colonial holdings in the Far East consist of five states comprising French Indo-China, plus the leasehold of Kwangchow-wan on the coast of the neighboring Chinese province of Kwantung, 300 miles south of Hongkong. This marks the division of Further India between Britain and France, English territorial encroachments from Burma to the west and French expansion from the southeast making the kingdom of Siam an enclave serving as a buffer, with the Mekong River only separating the two Powers just south of the Chinese frontier.

From the southernmost foothold of Cochin-China the French expanded northward taking under their control Cambodia, Annam, Laos, and Tongking—the four latter being protectorates, i. e., a nominal native administration controlled by "residents." The territory extends over some 256,000 square miles, an area as large as the South Atlantic States of America from Florida to Virginia. The population is considerably larger, however, and totals about 17,000,000 (Europeans approximately 23,000).

B. Title

While French interests date back to Louis XVI's plans for a great empire in the Orient, with French interference in 1787 in the affairs of Cochin-China following the establishment of British supremacy in India, France did virtually nothing for a hundred years.

During the French Revolution and the following decades the scheme of an Eastern Empire, favored by Louis XVI, was allowed to lapse; and it was not until the reign of Napoleon III that it again formed part of the political program of France.[1]

In 1862 France began a systematic forward policy. By intervention in native affairs and practical absorption in the seventies and eighties the French succeeded in establishing themselves firmly enough to challenge China's sovereignty over Annam and Tongking, war all but resulting between France and the Middle Kingdom. This was followed by a French protectorate over Annam ratified February 23, 1886, Cambodia to the southwest being placed in a similar status in 1863. Tongking, lying between Annam and South China, was part of the stakes secured in this struggle to break China's overlordship between 1881 and 1887. The Laos territory, to the west of Annam's accepted mountain frontier, was cut from Siam up to the Mekong River to insure French commercial dominance along this artery by the Treaty of Bangkok which the Siamese were obliged to sign by *force majeure* October 3, 1893.

[1] R. K. Douglas, "Europe and the Far East," p. 226.

C. Resources and Potentialities

Efforts to apply the French colonial policy of "assimilation" have resulted in effectively producing an economic "closed door" in this part of the East. Development has been typically reserved to the French, although the large-scale development of Indo-China's resources has resulted in widening the opportunity for other foreign enterprise to participate in the benefits of France's control.

The population of French Indo-China is fairly heavy, 55 to the square mile, with a per capita trade of $2.67 of imports and $3.24 of exports. The railway mileage of 1,282 miles gives about 4 to each 1,000 square miles of territory. The economic importance of these French holdings rests upon (1) French Indo-China being one of the granaries of the East; approximately 70 per cent of the exports consists of rice, with coal, cotton, rubber, sugar, hides, and various foodstuffs making up the balance; (2) the mineral reserves, such as Indo-Chinese antimony controlled by the French nation, which is the most important producer in Europe, coal reserves of the third magnitude, iron, four districts producing zinc, considerable tungsten, and lignite; (3) their proximity to China and the possibility of using French Indo-China as a base to control southwestern China's development adjacent to Tongking as a virtual French monopoly.

II. France's Interests in China

A. Extent

France's political and economic equity in China's future is bound up in part with her Indo-China holdings, including the Leasehold of Kwangchow-wan, railways built and projected, and other preferential development rights; and in part with the vested interests which French enterprise and diplomacy have built up, such as the French "concessions" in the treaty ports, French lines of communication, taking advantage of exterritorial rights such as wireless and postal services, and a measure of control in the appointment of the Chinese Government's administrative personnel.

B. Title

THE FRENCH SPHERE OF "INTEREST" IN SOUTH CHINA. When China's weakness was revealed to the Powers, following her disastrous defeat in the short war with Japan in 1894-95, the penetration of European nations was suddenly changed into a scramble for political priorities and economic privileges fortifying their respective positions. The French anticipated the general battle for concessions by an additional convention, supplementing that of 1887 dealing with the Indo-China situation, concluded June 20, 1895. This provided for the penetration of South China through the opening of specified points to trade, a system of preferential duties, and priority of development, Article V stating:

It is understood that China, for the exploitation of its mines in the provinces of Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Kwantung, may call upon, in the first instance, French manufacturers and engineers, the exploitation remaining nevertheless subject to the regula-

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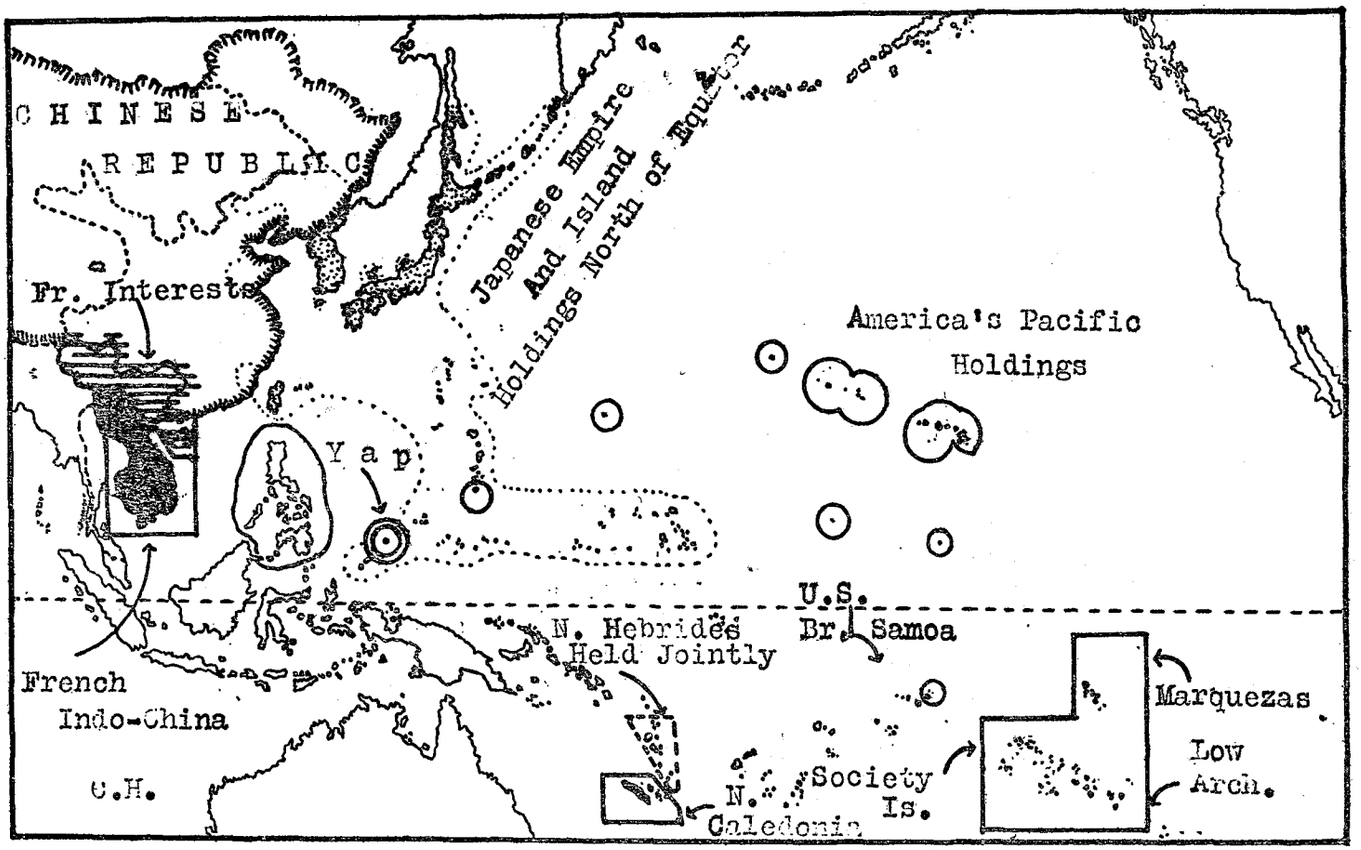

On this map the French holdings are inclosed by solid rectangular lines, the Japanese are included in the dotted lines, while the Pacific possessions of the United States are indicated by single, solid, black lines encircling them.

tions proclaimed by the Imperial Government as regarding national industries.

It is agreed that railways, either those in existence or those projected in Annam, may, after mutual agreement, and under conditions to be defined, be continued into Chinese territory.[3]

When the long-threatened partition of China loomed between 1897 and 1900, France moved with Britain in redressing the balance of power upset by the German and Russian grabs to the north. On March 15, 1897, France extended her definition of interests by securing a declaration from the Chinese Board of Foreign Affairs providing for the non-alienation of the Island of Hainan, the Chinese flank on the Gulf of Tongking; the Tsungli Yamen acknowledging the French Minister's request in the following words:

> . . . You inform us that France, considering the close, friendly, and neighborly relations maintained with China, attaches great importance to the Island of Hainan never being either alienated or ceded by China to any other foreign Power, either as final or temporary cession, or as a naval station or coaling depot.
>
> Our Yamen considers [the Island of Hainan] as belonging to the territory of China which consequently exercises over it right of sovereignty. How could it cede it to foreign nations?[3]

With Lord Beresford's "break-up of China" apparently under way, the French again moved to consolidate their South China position. On April 10, 1898, the French Charge d'Affaires, "because of the necessity of taking care that no change be introduced into the existing situation as regards the provinces bordering on Tongking," asked that the Chinese make an appropriate declaration that there would be no alienation "to any *other* Power" of any or all of this territory. The Tsungli Yamen replied that it

> Considers that the Chinese provinces bordering on Tongking, being important frontier points which interest her in the highest degree, must always be administered by China and remain under her sovereignty. There is no reason that they should be ceded or leased to any Power.[4]

The Franco-Chinese exchange of notes of April 9-10, 1898, further strengthened the French; they asked for (a) a railway concession from Tongking to Yunnan, (b) the "friendly consideration" of the lease of Kwangchow-wan to balance as did Great Britain the German and Russian rights secured in the north, and (c) French recommendations as to the selection of staff to be followed by China in organizing a postal service with "a high functionary at its head." China responded:

> As it is said in the dispatch which you addressed to our Yamen that these three requests are destined to draw closer the bonds of friendship which unite us, we are able to acquiesce in them.[5]

The month following a convention covering the lease of Kwangchow-wan was drawn up. The arrangement of May 27, 1898, by which France acquired for purely strategical reasons this South China port, stated:

> The Chinese Government, in consideration of its friendship for France, has given by a lease for ninety-nine years Kwangchow-wan to the French Government to establish there a naval station with coaling depot, but it is understood that this shall not offset the sovereign rights of China over the territory ceded.[6]

Such is the method by which the revelation of China's weakness in the nineties was used to intrench foreign in-

[3] William Rockhill, "Treaties and Conventions with China and Korea," No. 3.
[3] William Rockhill, *op. cit.*, No. 21.
[4] William Rockhill, *op. cit.*, No. 24.
[5] William Rockhill, *op. cit.*, No. 36.
[6] William Rockhill, *op. cit.*, No. 11.

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terests the length and breadth of China. The final stage in the delimitation of the French sphere of interest occurred on September 26, 1914, when France secured a monopoly of the development of Kwangsi by French capital—subsequently using this to block the American efforts to build railways into this French preserve under the Siems-Carey series of contracts.

FRENCH PRIORITY OF RAILWAY RIGHTS, ETC. The practical effect of these commitments forced on China was to give French interests a free hand in the development of communications in the southwesternmost tier of Chinese provinces, barring the partially successful British efforts to effect a strategic penetration of western China from the Burmese frontier through Yunnan. The Yunnan-Tongking Railway was built, tying this part of China to French Indo-China by preventing competing lines of communications from being constructed by France's rivals within these border provinces to link them economically with the rest of China. Indeed, according to the testimony of Doumer, the governor-general of Indo-China largely responsible for this policy, the French absorption of Tongking itself was dictated by its possibilities as a base for the further advance upon China proper. The political significance of this activity is plainly indicated by the high tariff placed on all foreign goods using this route in competition with French business, and the preferential treatment of French trade in customs charges. Subsequently a lateral line was opened to tap the neighboring province of Kwangsi at Lungchow in a like manner.

Secondly, the French planned an extensive invasion of central China by means of railway lines designed to establish a contact with the Belgian-French-Russian scheme which, in spite of British opposition, was coming to fruition north of the Yangtsze River. These lines include those projected through the Banque Industrielle de Chine such as the road from Yunnan to Suifu and down the Yangtsze to Chungking and northwestward to Chengtu through the heart of British interests; the Yunnan-Kwangsi project; any lines from the vicinity of Pakhoi on the Kwantung coast; and the French section on the upper Yangtsze allocated as a share in the Four-Power Group and the Old Consortium.

Thirdly, there are the indirect activities of France typified by her banking interests in alliance with Russia and Belgium through the Paris Bourse. The Peking-Hankow Railway stands as such an accomplished fact, with the Belgian Syndicate's east and northwest line now under extension and its related projects as part of the general purpose inspiring France's pre-war financial diplomacy.

C. General Vested Interests

France, as is the case with the Powers generally, has found the *exterritorial status* of foreign subjects and interests in China of great use in furthering French interests.

Thus the general protection of Roman Catholic missionaries of all nationalities by the Quai d'Orsay, until the Kaiser inspired German competition for this right in the case of her own nationals, was not infrequently a means to press political readjustments on China. The exemption of the foreigner from the process of Chinese administration led to the establishment of "settlements" and "concessions" for foreign residence, more or less exclusively under the control of each Power as a little municipality in the heart of China or jointly used. Not only have these French residential areas facilitated the growth of "business colonies"; they are centers of political interests. The establishment of exterritorial communications legally trespassing Chinese sovereignty is another result, as witness the French postal service with its fifteen agencies tying together France's interests and the French wireless in her Shanghai settlement.

The rivalry of the Powers similarly penetrates the Chinese Government, extending to the appointment of "advisers," heads of certain administrations, and foreign employees. Hence France has a vested interest in the Postal Service, reorganized under French experts, as well as supplying a pro rata of the Maritime Customs personnel.

French vested interests, like those of the rest of the Powers, play a large part in China's financial troubles. Such rights range from the allocation of bondholding to the security of such obligations, especially as such "charges" rest upon sources affecting the special privileges of a Power.

III. FRENCH HOLDINGS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

A. Extent

With the exception of minor American interests, the South Pacific represents today an insular division between Great Britain and France. The French holdings fall into two broad groups: New Caledonia with its dependencies and the condominium of the New Hebrides just to the northeast of Australia; and those islands in mid-Pacific between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, Oceania.

(a) NEW CALEDONIA comprises eight islands of 7,237 square miles area and a population of 19,398 natives and 17,451 French settlers, and some others. New Caledonia itself accounts for 6,274 square miles of this territory and contains the chief resources of the group.

(b) FRENCH ESTABLISHMENTS IN OCEANIA number four distinct groups south of the Equator. The Society Islands have an area of 452 square miles and lie on a line between New Zealand and the Panama Canal; the Paumotu (Low) Archipelago stretches just to the east, totaling 330 square miles; the Marquezas are somewhat to the north, comprising 491 square miles; the Tubuai (Austral) Islands with 67 square miles are on the Tropic of Capricorn, below the Society group; and Mangareva (Gambier Islands) is a similar small group of 11 square miles at the southeast end the Paumotu Archipelago. The total area of these holdings is thus 1,351 square miles of Polynesia in the central Pacific with a population of 31,477, chiefly natives, with a few thousand French and other foreign trades, administrators, and Chinese and Japanese immigrants mixed in.

(c) THE NEW HEBRIDES, a condominium jointly held and administered by Britain and France, mark the overlapping of their respective interests on the north flank of the Coral Sea off Australia. The islands comprise some 6,000 square miles of territory of volcanic origin, populated with some 65,000 Melanesians and several thousand French and English traders and planters.

B. Title

The French title to the holdings in Oceania rests upon exploration, missionary activity, political rivalry with the British inducing interference with the natives and annexations on the heels of protectorates—the usual chapter in the absorption of weak and backward peoples.

The penetration of the French began in the 1830's with their missionaries competing with the British for influence. The Marquezas first were absorbed, a protectorate

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being forced on the Queen of Tahiti shortly after (1842). The definition of interests was the subject of acrimonious exchanges between England and France between 1847 and 1887. The Society Islands were transformed into a colony when the son of Queen Pomaré abdicated in 1880.

The French possessions of New Caledonia were discovered by Cook in 1774, the French following him in 1792. French missions paved the way for political control between 1827 and 1853, when they were annexed to France in order to anticipate the British. The object was:

> To assure to France in the Pacific the position demanded by its naval interests, military and commercial, and to afford the opportunity of putting in force the Government's views with regard to the treatment of criminals.[7]

The condominium of the New Hebrides resulted from the Anglo-French rivalry in the occupation of the insular Pacific. Discovered by the Spanish searching for the "Lost Continent" between 1606-14, it was rediscovered by the French in 1768 and the English in 1773. The English missionaries began preliminary operations between 1839-70; the French, just before the 1850's, abandoning the work but reviving it in 1887. The struggle for control between French and English settlers made annexation by either mother country impossible; government by a "Joint Naval Commission" limped administratively to the close of the century. By the Declaration of April 8, 1904, concerning Siam, the New Hebrides, and Madagascar:

> The two governments agree to draw up in concert an arrangement which, without involving any modification of the *status quo*, shall put an end to the differences arising from the absence of jurisdiction over the natives of New Hebrides.[8]

With the consultation of Australia and New Zealand, Britain made with France an agreement (Convention of October 20, 1906) providing a joint administration by French and British high commissioners. Each party retained jurisdiction over its subjects; common public works and taxation for mutual expenses were established; penal establishments and fortifications were interdicted.

C. Potentialities

The French holdings in the Pacific have suffered from lack of labor power, due to decreasing native population and slow settlement from abroad. All are placed on the strategic trade routes of the Pacific. The possibilities of plantation economy are great. For the French establishments in Oceania this means copra and some foodstuffs; no mineral resources exist other than the phosphate deposits of Makatea with about ten million tons in contrast to the 300 millions estimated to be in British control on Nauru. Both the New Hebrides and New Caledonia are being exploited by foreign planters although the previous drafts on native labor ("black-birding") have made the supply inadequate. Copra, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and native foodstuffs are raised. The New Hebrides have the promise of considerable mineral resources—copper, nickel, gold, and sulphur—although none are being worked. French activity in New Caledonia, however, has opened up the nickel and coal deposits. New Caledonian nickel figures on the world market; in 1900 it constituted 65 per cent of the total supply but Canada now produces about 80 per cent annually. The chromium deposits discovered in 1894, too, have formed a large part of the world's production. The cobalt produc-

[7] The *Moniteur*, February 14, 1854.
[8] See "Papers Prepared by the Historical Section of the Foreign Office for the Peace Conference," No. 145.

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tion has been killed by the more favorable Canadian fields. Copper, gold, manganese, and an uncertain reserve of low-grade iron ore cannot be mined at a profit.

IV. "Communities of Interest"

In any consideration of the French vested interests in the East, due weight should be given to three different kinds of "communities of interest" between France and the other Powers.

(a) Economic Partnerships: French vested interests in China have been served by two kinds of joint international action of a political-economic character. One is illustrated in the limitation of the Open Door to a bipartite advantage to be shared by France and Britain in a designated sphere, effected through the Declaration of January 15, 1896:

> The two governments agree that all commercial and other privileges and advantages conceded in the two Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan either to Great Britain or France in virtue of their respective conventions with China of March 1, 1894, and June 20, 1895, and all privileges and advantages of any nature which may in the future be conceded in these two Chinese provinces, either to Great Britain or France, shall, as far as rests with them, be extended and rendered common to both Powers and to their nationals and dependents, and they engage to use their good offices with the Chinese Government for this purpose.[9]

The other kind is in a financial combination back of a neutral Power, such as the Franco-Russian support of Belgium, which had for its purpose the extension of interests into debatable ground or spheres not effectively delimited.

(b) Political Ententes: Another type of community of interest is that developed by political exigencies, for instance, the Franco-Japanese accord of June 10, 1907, paving the way for the Russo-Japanese understandings of 1910 and 1916. It reads:

> The governments of Japan and France, being agreed to respect the independence and integrity of China, as well as the principle of equal treatment in that country for the commerce and subjects or citizens of all nations, and having a special interest to have the order and pacific state of things preserved, especially in the regions of the Chinese Empire adjacent to the territories where they have the *rights of sovereignty, protection,* or *occupation,* engage to support each other for the peace and security in those regions, with a view to maintain respective situation and the territorial rights of the two High Contracting Parties on the Continent of Asia.[10]

(c) International Concerts of Action, Political and Financial: French diplomacy in the East has always actively supported all joint international action embarked upon by the Powers. In other words, it has carried over into concerts of the Powers the special relationships and vested interests of the several nations. This tendency was apparent in the development of the Four-Power Group into the Six-Power or Old Consortium between 1909 and 1911. It has reappeared in the formation of the New Consortium between 1919 and the present time. The give-and-take opportunism of French diplomacy in the East, characterized by a leaning toward spheres of interest and special alliances, must be taken into account in considering the chances of some sort of international receivership for China such as may be born out of the deliberations of the Washington Conference.

[9] See W. F. Collins, "Mining Enterprise in China," Chap. III.
[10] "U. S. Foreign Relations," 1907, Part 2, pp. 754-5.

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